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L'ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE; AN OLD FRENCH POEM

Text, with Introduction and Notes

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND LITERATURE
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE

BY

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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L'ORDENE DE CHEVALERIE

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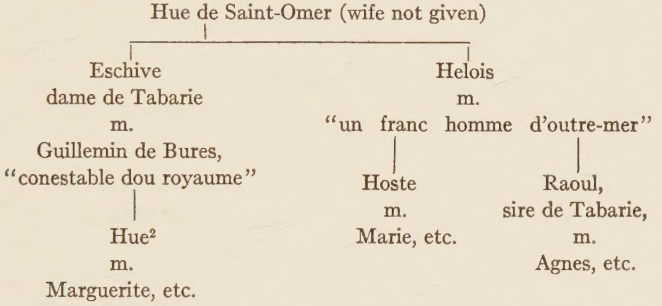
THE HISTORICAL BASIS OF THE STORY

The Characters

Hugues de Tabarie.—One of the knights who helped Godefroy de Bouillon win Palestine, as DuCange tells us,[1] was "Hugues de Fauquenbergue . . . du diocèse de Thérouenne (Pas-de-Calais, arrondissement de Saint-Omer)." This knight is said to have been, on his mother's side, a descendant of Charlemagne, and had borne in France the title "chastellain de Saint-Omer" (*Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 455). King Baldwin of Jerusalem made him Prince of Galilee and Lord of Tabarie, or Tiberias. A table of his descendants, based on the data in the *Lignages d'Outremer*, would stand thus:



The Hugues who appears in our poem is the Hue represented in this table as the son of Eschive and Guillemin de Bures,—the grandson, that is, of the first Hugues and the husband of Marguerite, daughter of Balian II, seigneur d'Ibelin. But there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting this table without modification. In the first place, DuCange has called attention to evidence from Guillaume de Tyr proving that the father of this Hue was not Guillemin de Bures, but Gautier de Saint-

[1] *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, p. 443.—Fauquembergues, now a village with a population of several thousand, lies ten kilometers southwest of St. Omer and twenty-five kilometers southeast of Boulogne.

[2] Though the *Lignages* indicate that Hugues II died without issue, and I find no Occidental authority mentioning a child of his, Abou Chamah's *Livre des deux Jardins*, p. 202, states that a son of the Lord of Tabarie was killed in the battle of Tiberias; and the Lord of Tabarie at that moment was certainly this Hugues II, husband of Marguerite. (Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie, d'histoire et de géographie pour l'étude et l'emploi des documents du moyen-âge*, p. 2,214.)

Omer.[3] Yet, with the bewildering frequency of divorce and remarriage among the Palestine Occidentals, we might neglect this evidence if it were not for chronology. Hugues de Fauquenbergue was a mature man in 1096, and died in battle with the Turks in 1107 (*Guillaume de Tyr* XI, 5). His daughter Eschive was married to Guillemin de Bures in 1123 (*Familles d'Outre-Mer*, p. 449). But Hugues, husband of Marguerite and eldest son of Eschive, was still alive and very active in 1204 (Ville-Hardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, X, 316), and more than this, in an account of a battle which occurred in 1182, he is called "Hues li jeunes" (*Guillaume de Tyr*, XXII, 16). This is a very unlikely state of affairs. There seems no recourse but to agree with the author of *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, that the *Lignages* are here obviously in error, and that the genealogy is at best incomplete. An omission of a line or two from his text by some copyist may be responsible for all the confusion. He might easily have leaped from one Eschive to another without noticing the names which intervened. There are eight women of the name in the list of Tabarie heirs, and in copying the entire *Lignages* it would have been necessary to record, once or several times, at least fifty noble ladies of the name.

With this gap in the record, we are not absolutely sure that the Hugues who is fabled to have knighted Saladin was even a blood-relative of old Hugues de Fauquenbergue, though the probabilities are that the Picard poet intentionally appropriated the distinguished honor of knighting Saladin for a member of a family from his own section, perhaps a family to which he was related. This probability is strengthened by the appearance of Hugues in the poem as commander of the Christian force which is captured, whereas he was in reality much less prominent than several other knights who were present. It was in a similar way that Gaston Paris believed Roland to have become the hero of the *Chanson*.

Hugues de Tabarie was taken prisoner by Saladin in a skirmish in 1179,[4] but was shortly afterward released. He was a brave knight, and

[3] *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, p. 448; *Guillaume de Tyr*, l. XXI, c. 5; l. XXII, c. 9, etc. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 389, says that Hugues was the son of the Count of Tripoli, which he could not have been, although he was probably his step-son. According to Guillaume de Tyr, Eschive, widow of Gautier de Saint Omer, having had four children by him, of whom Hugues was the eldest, married the Count of Tripoli in 1173, but had no more children. Hugues must have been a mature man by 1173, as his historical capture and traditional knighting of Saladin occurred in 1179.

[4] *Guillaume de Tyr*, XXI, 29. Gaston Paris, *Légende de Saladin*, p. 290, dates the capture 1178, on the authority of *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, p. 450. Duval, *Histoire*

is mentioned frequently by contemporary historians with approval and admiration. He was involved in the unsuccessful candidacy of his brother Raoul for the hand of Queen Isabella of Jerusalem, and was suspected of having had a part in the abortive attempt to murder the successful candidate (*Continuateurs de Guillaume de Tyr*, XXVII, 6). There seems nothing against him but this suspicion, not even such a rapid succession of matrimonial alliances as many of his associates were involved in.

Homfroi de Toron.—The anonymous author of our poem seems to have been a pioneer in attributing the knighting of Saladin to Hugues de Tabarie. Before this, a similar story had been told of the Constable of Jerusalem, by Richard of Saint Trinity.[5] But Richard of Saint Trinity was a purveyor of malicious scandal concerning the great Saracen, and modern students are inclined to ignore or contradict his testimony on this point.[6] Gaston Paris hestitates, on account of a similar but apparently independent account of Saladin's knighting, apparently at the hand of some Christian warrior, in the *Chronique d'Ernoul.* In the version of the story taken by Vertot (*Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, t. 6-7, p. 163), I am not sure from what source, the knighting occurred in 1166, when the young Saladin was forced to surrender Alexandria to King Amaury of Jerusalem: "On rapporte que ce jeune Mahométan, en sortant d'Alexandrie, à la tête de sa garnison, ayant apperçu Onfroy de Thoron, connétable du royaume de Jérusalem, et charmé de la valeur qu'il avoit fait paroître pendant tout le siége, s'avança vers ce seigneur Chrétien, et le pria, comme le plus brave chevalier qu'il connut, de vouloir bien le faire chevalier de sa main: ce que le connétable, avec la permission du roi, lui accorda," etc.

Littéraire de France, XVIII, 753, who writes the date 1187, has confused this small action with the great battle of Tiberias, which was not however fought on May first, as he states, but on July 4th of the last-named year. Hugues de Tabarie took part in this battle, also, and was one of a small band of Christians who escaped. Fioravanti, *Il Saladino nelle leggende francese e italiene de Medio-Evo*, p. 11, makes the same mistake, probably following Duval. See also *Continuat. Guillaume de Tyr*, XXIII, 41.

[5] *Gesta Dei per Francos.—Historia Hierosolimitana*, p. 1,152. "Processu temporis cum iam aetas robustior officium militare deposceret, ad Enfridum de Turone illustrem Palestinae Principem, paludandus accessit; & Francorum ritu militae cingulum ab ipso suscepit."

[6] H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuege*, p. 68, where the not strictly accurate statement is made that Hugues was said to have freed himself from captivity by knighting Saladin; A. Fioravanti, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

The earlier scholars seem to have accepted the account as historically probable.[7] But A. Duval, (*Hist. Lit.*, XVIII, 759), calls attention to the significant fact that no mention of Saladin's knighting occurs in any Arabic historian. In view of his devotion to his own faith and the general consistency of his character, it seems improbable that he ever asked for membership in a Christian Order. It is to be noted that in our poem, Saladin merely says:

Fai moi sage dont; j'ai talent
De savoir trestout l'errement
Car je saroie volontiers
Comment on fait les chevaliers.

He does not say "Fais-moi chevalier." Our poet does not represent Saladin as having actually become a knight, but only as having made a thorough study of the interesting institution, even submitting to a sort of incomplete mock initiation in his effort to get the matter clearly before him. There seems little doubt that the superior courage and prowess of the Christian knights caused many Saracens to look upon knighthood as a sort of talisman which conferred these qualities, and that many of them actually did covet its possession. A. Duval quotes from *Gesta Dei* an account of an Emir who tried to frighten Saint Louis into knighting him.

The confusion of Hugues and Homfroi seems quite natural, in view of their frequent contact and the similarity of their characters and careers. A Homfroi de Toron was also taken prisoner by Saladin, much as Hugues had been a few years before (*Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh*, pp. 365, 686, etc.), but the general reputation[8] of this man does not correspond to that of the man who is said to have knighted Saladin.[9]

[7] LeGrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux ou Contes, Fables et Romans du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*, says, note to *L'Ordre de Chevalerie*, p. 217; "Saladin lui-même . . . se fit conférer la chevalerie, non par les mains de Tabarie, . . . mais par celles d'un Humfroi de Toron, . . . qu'il fit prisonnier à la bataille de Tibériade." But Homfroi had been dead for eight years at the time of the battle of Tiberias, having died in 1179, from wounds received in battle about the time that Hugues de Tabarie was taken prisoner by Saladin. See *Guillaume de Tyr*, XXI, 27. For acceptance of the knighting as historical, see *Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 46; *Histoire littéraire*, XXI, 13. A. Fioravanti, *op, cit.*, p. 14; Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 147.

[8] For testimony as to the cowardice of this Homfroi, with an account of his ludicrous attempt to evade the kingship of Jerusalem, see *Continuat. Guillaume de Tyr*, pp. 31, 152 ff., etc.

[9] On the knighting of Saladin's nephew, see Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age*; *Les Croisades*, p. 135; *H. Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzuege*, p. 68; Archer-

Chroniclers of the twelfth century were not always sure of their data; and given the desire of the Picard poet to immortalize a fellow-countryman, the change seems natural, even if we do not accept the suggestion of Gaston Paris to the effect that a version of the story containing simply the initials H. de T. might have been mistakenly filled out by a later scribe as H(ugues) de T(abarie) instead of H(omfroi) de T(oron). However all this may be, the name of Hugues seems to have displaced that of Homfroi in all the literary versions of the story.

The Homfroi genealogy is not without its apparent contradictions, although they come later than the generation we are concerned with.[10] The name "Toron" comes from the name of a castle built by the first Hugues de Tabarie on the northern border of his principality, in 1107, the year of his death. This castle, with the land about it, was assigned a little later to the first Homfroi. The Toron dynasty were thus feudal dependents of the Princes of Tabarie.[11] There seems to be no record of the French beginnings of this family, though it is practically certain that the family was Norman. The list of the original Crusaders (*Orderici Vitalis Historiae Eccl.*) names two Omfroi: "Unfredus, filius Radulphi" and Unfredus de Monte Scabioso. This place is the modern Scaglioso, in Calabria. Both these men were followers of the turbulent Calabrian-Norman leader Boémond. "Omfroy" (English "Humphrey") was a favorite Norman and Anglo-Norman name, as the lists in the *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, *Hist. Eccl.*, etc., show, and the most enterprising of the earlier Crusaders were descendants of Rollo. Richard of the Lion Heart himself was a great-great-grandson of Duke William. The data in the *Lignages* would develop the descent as follows:

Kingsford, *The Crusades*, p. 340; F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry*, p. 137; George W. Cox, *The Crusades*, p. 131. There is a legend of an intimate friendship between this young prince and Saint Francis of Assisi. See Bosone da Gubbio, *L'Avventuroso Ciciliano*, p. 451. Joinville, *Saint Louis*, p. 69, speaks of a Saracen leader who had been knighted by Friedrich Barbarossa.

[10] For a statement of them see *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, pp. 469 and 471.

[11] *Familles d'Outre-Mer*, p. 231. Galilee supplied 100 men to the national militia, Toron only 15 (Archer-Kingsford, p. 363).

Hanfroy dou Touron
|
Hanffroy, conestable dou royaume de Jérusalem
| |
Hanffroy Isabeau, etc.
m.
Isabeau
(later Queen of Jerusalem)
(no children)

The Homfroi we have to deal with is evidently the second of this list, indicated in the index to *Guillaume de Tyr* as Henfredus Junior, as his son is Henfredus Tertius. He was the bravest warrior of his generation, and the Saracens feared him as greatly as they did Richard Coeur-de-Lion a little later.[12] There is a story of his having been a sworn brother of a Saracen emir, and of an occasion when he owed his life to the fidelity of this ally. The accounts of his knighting of Saladin contain tributes to his surpassing courage and gallantry.

[12] *Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh*, p. 635; "Il est impossible de donner une idée de ce qu'était Honfroy. On se servait de son nom en guise de proverbe pour exprimer l'idée de bravoure et de prudence dans la guerre. Il était comme une affliction que Dieu avait déchaînée sur les musulmans. . . ."

THE ORDER OF CHIVALRY

Just how significant, consistent and useful an institution the Order of Chivalry ever was, is a matter concerning which opinions differ diametrically. The extremes are represented on the one hand by such writers as Léon Gautier, whose elaborate work, *La Chevalerie*, is one long panegyric on a nobly effective organization; and, on the other by P. Guilhiermoz, (*Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au Moyen Age*) and W. A. Stowell (*Old French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*), who maintain that the Gautier conception of chivalry, based entirely on works of mediaeval fiction, is like nothing that ever existed; that knighthood was a soulless formality, and its so-called laws totally ignored by the members of the Order. This chapter is not a contribution toward the clearing up of the general question, but I have accumulated some details which may perhaps throw a certain light on phases of the institution.

The Mediaeval knight must be a distant relative of the Latin *eques*, but the influence of one institution on the other is not very marked. The *Equites*, originally an aristocratic division of the army, came later to include all Roman citizens blessed with a certain minimum of fortune. With the removal of the capital to Constantinople they degenerated into a mere city-guard, and they disappear from history after the fourth century. With a little good-will, it is easy to find numerous points of similarity between the *eques* and the *chevalier*. The Roman knight was generally of noble birth; he had certain religious and police functions in addition to his duties as a soldier; there were religious ceremonies in connection with the organization of the centuries containing the *equites*, of which the ordination of knighthood may be in some degree a reminiscence; Belot (*Histoire des chevaliers romains*, p. 164) even finds a similarity between the combats of early Roman *equites* and the knightly combats of the Middle Ages; an unworthy *eques* was cermonially degraded to the infantry, as a knight forfeited his spurs and his sword (*Livy*, XXIV, 18). But the *equites* disappeared centuries before the first Mediaeval knight made his appearance, and the latter was known in Mediaeval Latin, not as *eques*, but as *miles*. The history of this term is very instructive. Originally designating the foot-soldiery as distinguished from the cavalry, it came under the late Empire to be applied to the personal soldiery of the Emperor, from which it seems to have been extended to apply to any member of his personal following (*Cod. Theod.* II, 1, 34;

Pand. IV, 6, 10, cited Lewis & Short, *Latin Dictionary*). Then came apparently an extension to the vassals of any prince (Bartal, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Regni Hungariae*, s.v. *Antrustio*). As the feudal organization takes form, we find the vassal designated as *fidelis*, *homo* or *miles*. The *chevalier* is the *miles* of the feudal organization. Guilhiermoz, (*Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France*, p. 140), writes concerning the origin of knighthood, ". . . *milites*, les vassaux proprement dits. Ceux-ci étaient considérés comme formant une classe de la société, *ordo militaris* ou *equestris*, *la militia.*" And he proves his position by ample references. Flodvard, *Annales*, a. 948 (*Mon. Germ. Script.* III, p. 396), speaks of ". . . votis et acclamationibus procerum militiaeque Francorum. . . ." Guillaume le Breton, died 1226, writes in his *Philippide*, III, v. 22-23, ed. Delaborde, p. 66, of the ". . . Proceres comitesque ducesque—Ordoque militae minor. . . ." The historian Richer, writing at the end of the 10th century, several times speaks of the "equestri ordine" or the "militari ordine." There is no question that Chrétien's "Ordre" (*Perceval*, l. 1,612), is an idealization of this Latin feudal institution.

A painstaking semantic study of the word *chevalier*, carried through the Old French period, would no doubt result in some interesting conclusions as to the character and the successive modifications of the institution. A rapid review of the principal monuments, from the *Roland* to the *Perceval* included, has shown that in the earlier poems the feudal relation is stressed more heavily, that in them religion and patriotism are emphasized and identified, and that in them the knight appears as a soldier in an army and not yet as an independent adventurer. In the *Chancun de Guillelme* mention is made of a knight's obligation toward a *comrade* in need; and not till the *Floovant* have I found an instance where a knight rescues a woman in distress. The *Floovant*, in fact, presents a picture of a genuine knight-errant, and thus marks the transition from the collectivism of the old epic to the individualism of the later romance.

Chivalry's aspect of romantic idealism seems Germanic rather than Latin, in spite of the fact that the institution took strongest hold in France. The ceremony of knighting was an outgrowth of the ceremony of feudal investiture. At Ratisbone, in the year 791, Charlemagne solemnly attached the sword to the side of his son Louis, in very much the way the knight received it later. The denomination *chevalier* was current well before the end of the tenth century (Le P. Mabillon, *Annales de*

l'ordre de saint Benoît, quoted le P. Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice françoise*, p. 97). A. Luchaire has found (see Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, II, 2, p. 141), that an elaborate form of knighting was practised under Otho III, that is, before 1002. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, under date of the year 1085, that William the Conqueror "dubbade his sunn Henrie to ridere." The chivalric attitude toward women, which may be traced to the old German respect for the sex, is already hinted at in the *Chanson de Roland* (ll. 1960 ff.). Gaston Paris writes of Chrétien de Troyes (*Journal des Savants*, 1902, p. 292); ". . . il exalte l'amour et, le premier sans doute dans la France du Nord, il en célèbre la vertu ennoblissante"; but if this be true, the idea was expressed earlier in the West, for several years before Chrétien, about 1155, we read in the *Roman de Brut*, ll. 10,791 ff:

Ne ja chevalier n'il eüst,
De quel parage que il fust,
Ja peüst, en tote sa vie,
Avoir bele dame a amie,
Se il n'eüst avant esté
De chevalerie prové.
Li chevalier mieuz en valoient;
Et en estor mieuz en faisoient;
Et les dames plus le servoient
Et plus chastement en vivoient . . .

Some years earlier still, Geoffroy of Monmouth wrote (IX, XIII, p. 134): "Facetae etiam mulieres consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur, nisi tertio in militia approbatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo castae mulieres, et milites amore illarum meliores." Annette Hopkins (*The Influence of Wace on the Arthurian Romance of Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 146), is of the opinion that Wace is an innovator in the presentation of the chivalry of refinement and elegance, as opposed to the brutality of the earlier epics.[1]

The West European institution of knighthood was not without models and congeners in other parts of the world. J. Flach (*Les Origines de l'ancienne France*, p. 574), has found in the Arabic history of Antar, dating from the sixth century, an account of an adoubement strikingly

[1] Freeman, *Fortnightly Review*, Dec., 1876, terms William Rufus, 1050-1100, the "first recorded man by whom the doctrines of honour and chivalry are constantly and ostentatiously put forward as his ruling principles of action." F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry*, p. 30, cites Oman, *Art of War*, p. 199, and speaks of Baduila the Ostrogoth as "the first chivalrous figure in modern history."

similar to the Western ceremonial of centuries later: "De retour aux tentes, le roi revêtit Antar d'un khila (tunique ou pelisse) brodé d'or, le ceignît d'un sabre à lame rayée et lui fit amener un de ses plus nobles coursiers.—Dorénavant, dit-il, qu'il suive nos guerriers dans les rhazzias." Joinville speaks of a custom like knighthood which prevailed among the Saracens of his time, the young candidates for the Order being brought up in the Sultan's house till their beards appeared, which was taken as a sign that they were ready for initiation. Le Grand d'Aussy (*Fabliaux*, I, 216), quotes from a contemporary of his own whom he does not name, an account of a modern chivalric institution among the Mongol Mahometans. The name *bahader*, by which such an Oriental knight is known according to Le Grand's authority, is the name applied in the *Chronique d'Ernoul* to the Saracen knights of the Crusade period. The same designation, now spelled *bahadur* or *bahauder*, is today a ceremonial title in the common language of Hindoos and Mahometans. W. A. Nitze, (*The Sister's Son and the Conte del Graal*, *Modern Philology*, Jan., 1912), quotes from Howitt (*Native Tribes of Southeastern Australia*), a series of instructions to intitates into the body of adult warriors, bearing some striking resemblances to the instructions to the new knight in our poem and elsewhere, and from Gillem and Spencer (*Native Tribes of Central Australia*), an account of the binding about the initiate's waist of a human hair girdle, corresponding to the chivalric ceinture. Howitt (*op. cit.*, p. 213), finds a preliminary ceremony at the age of ten to twelve and a final one between twenty-five and thirty, from which it appears that the squire, as well as the knight, has his counterpart among the modern Australians.

Manual of knighthood though it is, our poem fails at one very important point to present the generally accepted doctrine of chivalry. One of the knight's cardinal virtues is *courtoisie*. Sainte Palaye (*Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie*, I, p. 347), finds the knight's religion hopelessly entangled with gallantry. Rosières (*Histoire de la société française au Moyen Age*, p. 384), concludes that it was impossible to be a knight without loving a lady. The phrase *le tiers-amour*, designating the necessary objects of a knight's love, covered "Dieu, l'honneur et les dames."[2] Sir Tristram says in the *Morte d'Arthur*: "A man may never be of prowess but if he be a lover." Detailed instructions to knights

[2] Vaublanc, *La France au temps des Croisades*, II, 33. The suggestion has been made that since the Virgin appeared very prominently in the knight's religion, his adoration of Our Lady might naturally shade into love of a lady. Le Coy de la Marche, *La Chaire*

in other mediaeval works assume in general a love-affair.[3] The fact that the element of gallantry is entirely absent from our poem, and that even the mention of women among the helpless beings a knight should succour,—with no more sentiment involved than in aiding the poor and oppressed of his own sex,—fails to appear in the very dependable Ms. D, would support the probability of an austere clerical source for the poem.[4]

Our poet, being himself a Churchman, naturally ranks the knightly Order second, though only second, to the priesthood (ll. 484 ff.). This is frequently done by other writers.[5] The two Orders are united in one great work, and their points of identity and similarity are mentioned again and again. The training of the young clerk under the bishop was very similar to that of the squire under the knight. The knight was tonsured, much as was the priest. He was a generally recognized public censor and guardian of religion and morals. The same individual was occasionally both priest and knight. The knight was expected to be very careful in his observance of the forms of religion. He must attend Mass every day, if possible. He must observe the fasts scrupulously. He must give alms whenever he was able. His sword-hilt was a cross, often containing sacred relics, and he was thus

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française au Moyen Age, quotes a mediaeval preacher as having declared: "Nullus strenuus miles nisi amet; amor facit strenuitatem militae." But the preacher probably referred to love of Heaven, rather than love of a woman.

[3] *Aiol et Mirabel*, 169 ff. *Perceval li Gallois*, 526 ff. *Parzival*, III, 339 ff., 16, 131 ff. – *Les Mabinogion*, II, p. 51, etc.

[4] Groeber, *Grundriss*, 2/1, p. 709, remarks: "Stark betont werden die Pflichten des geistlichen Rittertums." The pious Majorcan Ramon Lull, whose *Libre del orde de Cauayleria*, appearing at the end of the thirteenth century, is an even more detailed manual of knighthood than our poem, likewise makes no mention of the other sex as an object of romantic adoration; and he specifically warns against *largesse*, the virtue which Chrétien, *Cligès*, 192 ff., qualifies as "dame et reine" of all knightly virtues, as the *Roman de Mahomet* (ed. Reinaud et Michel, 625) contends that "Avarisce est de tous pechiés Commenchemens. . . ." But Lull was a Churchman, too. Philippe de Navarre, *Les quatre ages de l'homme*, p. 23, also warns against excessive generosity, but he tells us himself that he wrote his book after he had passed seventy. Extravagance is criticized in the *Eructavit* (ed. T. Atkinson Jenkins. See Introduction, p. viii). There is a hint of economy in the knightly instructions contained in the pious *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach. Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, p. 220, finds a general reaction toward economy in the course of the fourteenth century.

[5] Lull, *op. cit.*, X; *Bible Berze*, Barbazon-Méon, *Fabliaux*, II, p. 399, l. 179, etc. But *Perceval*, 2,827 ff., does not place even the priest above the knight.

always in a position to help himself and others with the offices of religion. His Order was the secular arm of the Church, and his part in the maintenance of the Church was quite as definitely assigned as that of the clergy. It was his duty to use force for the purposes which the priesthood accomplished by persuasion, thus neglecting no sort of effort to advance the cause of the Church. His military efficiency would be as highly rewarded in Heaven as the piety of the priest. Thus the licentious Richard Coeur-de-Lion, for a daring leap into the sea while leading his army in Palestine, as a result of which a decisive victory was won, was to be the companion in Paradise of a certain hermit of great sanctity, in spite of the latter's reluctance (Don Juan Manuel, *Libro de Patronio*, III; Ambroise, *Guerre Sainte*, ll. 11,127—11,130). The knight was to be well repaid for the faithful performance of his religious duties. Pardon for all sins, which the Council of Clermont promised all Crusaders to the Orient, was extended later to the Albigensian Crusaders, (Cox, *The Crusades*, p. 178) and in our poem (ll. 478 ff.) immediate and unconditional entrance into Heaven is the privilege at death of all true knights wherever employed. God was ever ready with miraculous aid for those who kept the ordinances. Thus a warrior who had fasted faithfully was rewarded with power to talk with a priest and secure absolution after he had been decapitated (*La Tour Landry*, VII, 10).[6]

There are points of similarity between the ceremonial of knighthood and other religious forms. As early as 838, Charles the Bald received the sword from King Louis, with the words "Au nom du Père, du Fils, et du Saint Esprit." Sainte-Palaye notes that the white garment and bath suggest baptism, as the blow suggests the ceremonial of confirmation. Gautier believes that the word *lever*, ordinarily meaning the lifting of the baptized child from the font, was sometimes used as an equivalent for *adouber*. The newly-baptized is covered with a white garment, just as is the newly-bathed knight. Perceforest uses the word *épouser* for *adouber*, which would hint at a relation with the marriage ceremony; and the ordinance for the making of knights of Bath compares the knight to "une nouvelle mariée." In theory at least, the knight is always and everywhere the servant of the Church; he enters the Order after a ceremonial of priestly ordination, his love-affairs are indirect homage to the Virgin, of whom every woman is the fleshly symbol; his ostentatious *largesse* is Christian charity exaggerated; his

[6] Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben im 12. Jahrhundert*, 33; Du Cange, *Dissertation sur l'histoire de St. Louis, Glossarium*, X, 12.

battles are fought for the honor of "Dieu et sa dame," two objects of adoration between which he is not encouraged to distinguish sharply; the reward for his services,—apparently his only reward during the early part of the Crusade period, except what booty he might incidentally appropriate,—is immediate entrance into Heavenly bliss. Had he become and remained a consistent servant of the Church, his Order might have taken a more definite and permanent form. But having no recognized Head and no system of government, knighthood could not continue to exist as a separate institution.

Since the body of the knights was thus no one definitely organized corporation, as was the clergy for instance,we must expect endless confusion and contradiction in rules and practices. First, as to eligibility: Our poem (ll. 83 ff.) explains that Saladin cannot be made a knight because he is not a Christian, and it would seem reasonable that an organization whose business it was to defend the Church must of necessity be composed of those who supported the Church. The kingdom of Jerusalem, where the king was only the tool of the Patriarch and the Pope was the real head even of the secular government, was practically a theocracy; but even in the West the knights accepted a function which implied membership of the Church. Treis (*Die Formalitaeten des Ritterschlags*, p. 16), decides that whereas noble birth was not an absolutely necessary qualification, acceptance of the Christian faith is indispensable; yet he finds even this requirement neglected in the case of Gaudin de Blout (Partonpaeus, ll. 7,813 ff.), Floire himself in *Floire et Blanchefleur*, (2,824 ff. and 2,937), and Povre-Veu in *Foulques de Candie* (67-68 and 96-98). This is fiction, but Treis need not have looked far to find historical instances of the same laxity. Besides the well-attested case of the nephew of Saladin, there is a record of the knighting of the Egyptian emir Fachr-ed-din in 1228, by Frederick II, and one of the knighting of the Sultan of Egypt in 1250 by the Grand Master of the Order of St. John; and Joinville, p. 69, says of a Saracen leader: "L'on disoit que li emperieres Ferris l'avoit fait chevalier." Where there is so much smoke, there certainly must be fire. Complimentary knightings were undoubtedly frequent, and the recipients were very likely to be the gallant foes of the Christians.

Since knighthood was an outgrowth of the feudal arrangement and a knight was a superior vassal, he was in theory necessarily a noble, even if a noble were not necessarily a knight. Honoré d'Autun, in his *De Imagine Mundi*, maintains that only knights are Japhetic in origin,

while serfs are the descendents of Ham, and freemen, of Shem. The fact that Richard Coeur-le-Lion, although he heaped all other possible honors and benefits on his favorite the ex-bandit Mercadier, making him commander of his army, a wealthy landholder, etc., failed to knight him, has attracted the attention of scholars, and the suggestion has been made that the free-booter's humble birth was the insuperable obstacle. But the same Richard did not hesitate to knight the heathen son of Saphadin, and did not err in general in the direction of over-scrupulousness. In Jerusalem, in 1187, after the disaster of Tiberias had devastated the ranks of Palestine chivalry, Balian of Ibelin helped to swell them again by making knights in short order of sixty sturdy bourgeois (Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, p. 275). Friedrich Barbarossa is said by a contemporary (Gontier, quoted le P. Daniel, *Histoire de la Milice françoise*, p. 97), to have knighted a number of men of low birth, a procedure which, says the narrator, would have been regarded as unworthy among the French. The records of the Parliament of Paris show that the Count of Nevers was fined by Philip the Hardy for knighting two men of low birth, and that the new knights were fined also, but that the king finally confirmed them in their new dignity. The tutor Salomon, in *Doon de Mayence*, is offered knighthood if he will murder the children of his master. In the *Chevalier du Cygne* (p. 39, ll. 990 ff.), the renegade traitor Malquarré is knighted in order that he may do battle with the young hero. So both fiction and history bear evidence to laxity in observing the rule of birth; although the rule was in theory a very severe one, requiring that the candidate produce four noble ancestors.[7]

Lack of organization appears also from the variety of ceremonial at different times and under different circumstances. Thus the *colée*, which the hero of our poem names as an important detail but refuses to administer to Saladin, seems to have been entirely absent in the early history of knighthood, whereas in the form of the *accolade* it became the essential and often the only element of later knightings. And again, although our poem stresses the religious significance of the ceremony, there is no mention of anything corresponding to the church vigil which came later to play so important a part.

If we follow the procedure as the poem indicates it, we have first, ll. 108-9, the special treatment of the hair and beard. Just what this treatment was, is not clear. The Barbazon-Méon prose version says distinctly that hair and beard were not cut off. Le Grand (*Fabliaux*, I,

221) assumes the poem to imply that they were, and accounts for the variance in the prose version by explaining that the French contemporaries of the poem were clean shaven, whereas the style had changed by the time the story was put into prose. But both versions come within the thirteenth century, and it is well known that the upper classes shaved their faces clean all through the thirteenth century and well into the fourteenth. Treis (*op. cit.*, p. 71), seems to have read the poem as Le Grand did at this point. The historical Saladin would certainly never have allowed shears or razor to touch his face. William of Tyre says that a Mahometan considered the loss of hair a disgrace akin to castration.[7] Even when they attempted to disguise themselves, the Saracens would not sacrifice their beards (*Matthew Paris*, I, 379). The value which the Mohammedan set on his beard was well known to Occidentals, and is made use of in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, XXIII, where the Saracen commander Garsin sends half his beard to the King of Persia with a frantic appeal for help against the Christians:

> Nel vousist avoir fait por mil mars d'or pesé.
> Muis en vousist avoir Mahomet deffié.

The king recognizes in the remittance a sign of terrible distress:

> Quant sa barbe a coupée, ço est grans pitiés.

The possession of long hair was associated with strength even in the Occident;[8] and that great importance was even in the Occident attached at times to the possession of a beard is shown by the story of young Floovant, son of Clovis, who for a joke cut off the beard of his tutor while the old man was asleep, and who would have paid for the offense with his life if the Queen had not interceded for him. Perhaps the shaving off of the beard was not absolutely necessary, even in a *bona fide* knighting. Guilhiermoz (*op. cit.*, p. 405) has found evidence that in the knighting of older men it was at times the practice simply to touch the beard without removing it. The verb *apparillier* (l. 109) might easily refer to some such dressing or ornamentation as Wilhelm Hertz has quoted various instances of in the note to his edition of *Parzival*, p. 531, or to such careful braiding and parting as was common at this period.[9]

The next step is the bath, signifying such purification as the infant receives from baptism. The attaching of a ceremonial significance to a

[7] See Dreesbach, *Der Orient in der afrz. Kreuzzugsliteratur*, p. 36.
[8] *Chanson de Roland*, p. 52, ll. 975 ff.
[9] Viollet-le-Duc, III, s.v. *coiffure*; Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume*, 192.

hygienic procedure apparently came rather late. Gautier does not find it before the *Anseis de Carthage*. According to Peter the Venerable, the Templars were always chary of baths,[10] and by the time of the last Valois the general use of linen undergarments had done away almost entirely with the salutary procedure, except that it was occasionally reported to in case of illness (Méray, *La Vie au temps des Cours d'Amour*, p. 275). There was a period when abstention from the bath was regarded as a real deprivation, as is evidenced by the fact that it was sometimes imposed by the Church as a penance (Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben im* 12. *Jahrhundert*, p. 145). It was a feature, not only of knighting, but also of the ordination of a priest, and of the marriage ceremony (Méray, *op. cit.*, p. 275).

Immediately after the bath, Saladin is put to bed. The ordinance of the Knights of the Bath (see, e.g., DuCange, s.v. *miles*) implies that the bed is made to serve the purpose of towel after bathing. This agrees with ll. 675 f. of the *Roman de la Violette*, where the heroine

> En son lit entre, si s'essuie,
> Puis s'est vestue et acesmée.

In our poem the candidate takes his ease for a time in bed, and is thus able to appreciate the patron's reminder of the flowery beds of ease awaiting those knights who merit them by a life of virtue and courage.

Following the ceremonial drying in bed, comes the putting on of the ceremonial garments; apparently this is done by Hugues. The dressing of a knight, as well as other intimate services, was regularly performed by another person. In *Perceval*, ll. 3,322 ff., we find the hero surprised because, left alone in the morning, he must climb out of the bed unaided and dress himself. In our poem, Saladin is laid in bed and lifted out like a child. In the Barbazon-Méon prose version, Hugues, when ready to draw on the *chausses*, "li torne les gambes hors du lit." The knight's exertions on the battle field were evidently reckoned to exempt him completely from exertion at home.

The garments and equipment are put on in the following order: linen undergarment, red robe, *cauces*, *ceinture*, spurs, sword, *coiffe*. In the *Girart de Roussillon*, the order is: *Braies*, *chemise*, *chausses*, *souliers*. Quicherat (*op. cit.*, p. 200) gives it: *chemise*, *braies*, *blanchet* (*futaine*), *chaperon*, *chausses*, *souliers*, *robe*. Were the *cauces*, which were put on Saladin, the *chausses* of *Girart* and of Quicherat's typical

[10] Vaublanc, *La France au temps des Croisades*, II, 295.

knight, or were they rather the equivalent of the *souliers*? Barbazon-Méon, I, vocabulary, translate *cauche, cauchemente*, by *soulier, chaussure*, without comment. The *Chrêtien Wörterbuch* of Foerster translates *chauces* by *Schuhe*, but his examples are not convincing. Exactly the same is true of the Godefroy dictionary. The dictionaries of Du Cange and Ste. Palaye say the same, and both quote this passage. Lane-Poole (*Saladin*, p. 390) accepts this translation without hesitation. It requires some temerity to question this array of authorities, but I have yet to find a context which shows indisputably that the word refers to a low outside foot covering of leather or other substantial material, rather than a longer leg covering of cloth. Black *chausses* were "le suprême bon ton" at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Quicherat, *op. cit.*, p. 198), and it is surely these black hose that are meant here. The Count of Bourges, disguised as a poor man, wears "souliers à liens" without *chausses* underneath. In the *Chevalier au Cygne*, p. 45, l. 1,174, mention is made of "Saullers et rices cauces. . . ." Our poem says distinctly that the *cauces* were of *saie*, and one MS. speaks of *saie de bruges*. Even as coarse a cloth as *saie* was scarcely a material for foot covering, although it is true that dress shoes were sometimes made of fabrics. Paul Meyer (*Girart de Roussillon*, p. lxxxi) defines *cauces* of v. 3,155 as "chaussons destinés à être portés par dessus les chausses at dans les souliers." It is evidently something of the same sort that Viollet-le-Duc (*Mobiliaire*, III, p. 150) describes under the name of *chausses basses*; but he finds them worn in general by the lower classes only. Godefroy, s.v. *cauchier*, quotes from *Li. xii. cordons, Richel.* 2,039, fo. 15a, the line

Pour faire cauces et cauchiers

which would indicate that if *cauchiers* were shoes, *cauces* were something different. Karl Treis (*op. cit.*, pp. 67-68) gives our word the proper meaning of "strumpfartige(n) Hosen." *Richars li Biaus*, ll. 819 ff., wears

. . . sollers detrenchiés
Qu'il ot sur les cauches cauchiés,

and various other citations of similar import could be found.

Linen is a cleanlier material than woolen, and its appearance for garments next to the skin led to a discontinuance of the salutary habit of the bath. The linen undergarment is a sign of personal purity. In *L'Enseignment des Princes* of Robert de Blois, which is probably not far from contemporary with our poem, we have, ll. 501 ff., another detailed

discussion of the symbolism of each article of the knight's dress and equipment; but there the *hoqueton*, being worn under the other clothing, is interpreted as a warning to the knight that he should be kind to those who are under,—to the humble and needy.

Then comes the *robe vermelle*, sign of the blood which the wearer should be ever ready to shed for the Church. According to Sainte-Palaye, (*Mémoires*, pp. 248 and 292) only knights and doctors were in the Middle Ages allowed to wear red. Robert de Blois gives the robe the same significance as our poet, but Raymond Lull (*Libre del orde de Cauayleria*, XXVI) tells us that the robe signifies "los grans trabayls los quals li coue a sofferre per honrar lorde de cauayleria." Just what the color in question was, is a matter about which there might be some question. The color suggests to the poet the color of blood. Coarse grained vermilion is as a matter of fact crimson. Robes of dark red approaching purple were not infrequent (Langlois, *La Société française*, p. 41). The adjective *vermeil* was frequently used to describe the appearance of blood. Yet the modern translators, Le Grand and William Morris, insist on transforming the robe into a scarlet one. The genesis of the confusion is probably as follows: The author of the Barbazon-Méon prose version adds to his mention of the color of the robe, the information that its material was "d'ecarlate u de soie." "Ecarlate" was originally not the name of a color, but of a woolen cloth; but the vogue of a costly scarlet dye which was often used to color this cloth, caused the name of the cloth to be appropriated for the dye (Schulz, *op. cit.*, I, 355). Le Grand confuses material with color, and his misinterpretation, or that of some other modern Frenchman, has influenced foreigners as well as French.

The *cauches* are in three of the MSS. spoken of as *brunes*, but all which have l. 169 use the adjective *noire* in rhyme. *Brun* in its more general meaning of dark, may be a synonym for *noire*. In Bosone da Gubbio, L'*Avventuroso Ciciliano*, p. 415, where a prose version of this poem occurs, *brune* is similarly used as synonymous with *nere*. The color of the *cauches* is to remind the knight constantly of the dark grave where he must one day rest, and thus to check any temptation to pride which may arise in him. The *chausses* in the *Enseignement des Princes* are not cloth stockings, but metal leggings, and by their hardness and coldness are to warn the knight to be as steel in dealing with all infractions of justice.

Now comes the assumption of the *ceinture*, symbol of sexual continence. There are in Mediaeval literature hints of attempts to carry the parallelism between knighthood and priesthood to the point of organizing the knights into a band of celibates. The *ceinture* is given the same meaning as here, in *Caritas* LXXIX:

> Prestre, ke te dit te chainture?
> Ele dit: "Prestre, fui luxure."

In that case, it enjoins virginity. What could have given rise to this thought of a girdle as a protection against the assaults of evil, a thought which appears in these poems and was probably general? Is there not a possible connection with the old custom of protecting a church with an iron chain or a great ring of other material, noted by Arnold van Gennep (*Religions, Moeurs et Légendes*, pp. 7 and 12) in Bavaria and the Tyrol, and in the Lebanon country? Whether the object of the band was to keep the saint in or the evil power out, the similarity remains a striking one.—According to Vaublanc (*Dictionaire Raisonnê*, p. 108) a narrow *ceinture* had become a regular part of men's attire by the thirteenth century. His natural size illustration, p. 111, shows the *ceinture* to have been less than half an inch wide. Cornish, p. 116, finds that the belt, which came to be one of the distinctive symbols of knighthood, was identified with the cingulum worn by Roman officials.

Hugues now attaches two gilded spurs to the Sultan's heels. It was not common to make spurs of solid gold, but of gilded steel. Gilded spurs were the special prerogative of the knight, even the squire being expected to wear them of silver instead, if not of steel. But K. Treis (*op. cit.*, p. 76) has collected a number of quotations which seem to imply that a squire shortly to become a knight might assume a knight's spurs; and since the sumptuary law of 1279 in France prohibited bourgeois from wearing gold spurs, the restriction must have been occasionally violated. St. Louis, who was extremely simple in his dress, ignored the knight's privilege and wore spurs of whitened iron (Quicherat, p. 202). *Perceval*, l. 1,601, is authority for the statement that it was the custom for the patron who dubbed the knight to buckle on the right spur. If this was ever a fixed custom, it did not remain so. In the MS. de l'Arsenal (P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, I, 393), the new-made knight Alexander buckles on his own spurs. In Thomas de Kent's account of the knighting of the same hero (*Ibid.*, I, 195 f.) Philip holds the sword, but another, "li bon gonfan(o)niers," attaches the golden

spurs. In the version of *Kyng Alisander* published by H. Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, I, p. 39, ll. 813 ff., King Philip girds on the sword and one Tholomas looks to the spurs. In the Ordinance of the Knights of the Bath, the sword, the right spur and the left spur are handled by three different persons. In *Galeran*, the right spur is buckled on by the Duke of Austria and the sword attached by the valiant knight Brundore. In the thirteenth century picture which is reproduced in Paul Lacroix's *Science and Literature*, p. 389, as well as elsewhere, one person applies the sword in the accolade, while two others simultaneously attach the spurs. In the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso of Castille (*Partida*, II, *Titulo* XXI, *Ley* XIV, pp. 208 f.) the rule is recorded that the new knight's patron, who gives him the accolade, must himself put the spurs on the candidate, "o mandar a algunt caballero que gelas calze,"—which settles the matter very plausibly.

The symbolism of the spurs is to the effect that, as they are the means of guiding the obedient horse, so the knight himself should submit obediently to the guidance of God. In Lull (XXIV) the spurs signify "diligencia et espertisa." In the *Enseignement des Princes* they are a reminder that fear of Hell and hope of Heaven should spur the knight to virtuous activity. The apparent implication of our poem that the spurs are a means of guiding the animal, may seem a little strange; but when it is remembered that it was necessary on occasion to occupy both hands with sword and shield and to let the reins take care of themselves, as is evident from pictures of the period, it seems probable that the knight gained considerable proficiency in handling his horse with his thighs and his heels.

Now comes the sword,the two-edged *brant*. The two edges signify "droiture et loiauté," especially in connection with the knight's function of protector of the poor and weak. In Lull the sword symbolizes "castetat e justicia," while, evidently very much at random, the two edges are said to mean "cauaylaria e justicia." Lull also calls attention to the cross formed by the handle and the hilt, as does the *Enseignement des Princes*. The edges, in the very detailed treatment of the sword's symbolism in the latter work, are an injunction to support both laws (secular and ecclesiastical?). In the *Siete Partidas* (II, XXI, IV) the hilt of the sword is interpreted to mean *cordura*, the knob *fortaleza*, the guard *mesura*, the sharp, straight blade *justicia*.

The white *coiffe* which comes next signifies the knight's soul, purified by penitence, until worthy to enjoy the ineffable delights of Heaven.

In the *Enseignement*, the *coiffe*, for a reason that is not very clear, is a warning to close the heart against pride.

At this point the ceremonial stops. Hugues refuses to give Saladin the blow,[11] on the ground that it would be an unwarrantable indignity for a prisoner to strike his captor under any circumstances. A similar instance of the omission of the blow because of the exalted rank of the candidate occurs in the *Romancero del Cid* (Ed. Carolina Michaelis, No. XXIX, p. 46):

> El Rey le ciñó la espada,
> Paz en la boca le ha dado,
> No le diera pescozado
> Como á otros había dado . . .

It is clear that both Hugues and the Cid's patron have in mind the violent blow with the hand, which was later replaced by a a harmless tap with the flat of the sword. Paulin Paris (*Hist. Lit.*, XXII, pp. 614 f.) criticizes Sainte-Palaye's statement that this blow was struck against the cheek, having found it always described in the *Geste des Lorrains* as being delivered on the back of the neck; but Treis (p. 96) finds the blow on the cheek frequent in the earlier monuments, giving way in time, however, to one on the neck. The reason for the blow, as given here, namely that the knight should always keep his patron in memory, is one that is very generally assigned. Lull has it on a slightly higher plane, or at least more clearly on such a plane; "E en significar de caritat deu besar e donar li quexada, perço que li membrant de so q̃ promet e d'el gran carrech a que sobliga, e d'el gran honor q̃ preu per lorde de cauayleria." Le Grand (*Fabliaux*, I, p. 224) suggests that the blow symbolized the last indignity to which the knight would ever tamely submit, acting thus as a spur to valor.

Hugues now proceeds to detail four duties which are incumbent upon the knight, failing of which he cannot expect salvation. They are (a) that he be never guilty of false judgment, and that if he should ever find himself in a company where the conversation is treasonable or wicked, failing to turn the discussion he must leave the company at once. Two of the four moral virtues of which a knight must be possessed were force and justice (Rosières, *op. cit.*, p. 381). The knight was a generally recognized censor. The Chevalier de la Tour (quoted by Ste. Palaye, p. 72) tells of a knight who went about indicating who were

[11] Groeber, *Grundriss*, 2/1, p. 709, says mistakenly that Hugues gave Saladin the accolade.

worthy women and who were not, and who meeting in a public assembly a young noble dressed indecently, compelled him to go and change his clothing. The fifteenth century English version of *Huon de Bordeaux* gives almost the same instruction we have here. /"be not in the plase where yll words be spoken, or yll counsell gyven/fly fro company of them that louyth not honor & trouthe/ . . . " Lull is of the opinion that all those who exercise any sort of authority should be knights. St. Louis[12] advises his son to prevent ill speaking by violence: "Suffer it not that any ill be spoken of God or His saints in your presence, without taking prompt vengeance." (b) The knight must not only refrain from misleading women, but must help them by every means in his power. This is a cardinal knightly obligation, and is mentioned again and again in mediaeval literature. (c) He must be abstinent, and in particular must fast every Friday in remembrance of Christ's death, unless prevented by sickness or "compaignie"(?), in which case he must make amends to God by giving alms or by some other penance. Finally (d) he must hear mass every day, and if he is financially able, must make regular contributions at these services, since gifts thus made have great virtue. The excessive importance attached to such purely exterior observances as the two latter, has already been mentioned. Knightly tournaments were suspended during fast-periods (Otto Mueller, *Die taeglichen Lebensgewohnheiten in den altfranzösischen Artusromanen*, p. 62), and it was a sin even to bear arms on Good Friday (*Ibid.*, p. 63). Raoul de Cambrai, who burned alive a convent of nuns but was careful not to offend by eating meat on Friday, is frequently quoted as a type of mediaeval piety. St. Louis was so careful in his observance of Friday that he took care never to laugh on that day. A group of Crusaders who were forced by famine to eat meat during Lent (Ambroise, *Guerre Sainte*, ll. 4,381 ff.), did penance later by submitting each to

Treize cops d'un baton sor le dos

administered by a priest, who, it is true, was careful that they should be "ne gaires gros." The *Siete Partidas* (I, IV, XXXIII) will not allow a doctor to treat a patient till he has visited the confessional. A writer represented in the Montaiglon-Reynaud collection of *Fabliaux* (II, p. 171) finds a little alms helpful toward winning Heaven, but a great one much more so; while another poem in the same collection remarks that even thieves do not dare to eat flesh on Friday. Joinville (*St.*

[12] *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, XXXIII, 1872, 424-442.

Louis, p. 115) tells that he was once greatly disturbed at the possible consequences of his having inadvertently "mangé cher" on Friday; but, being assured by his Saracen host that an unintentional sin was not really a sin, he accepted that position and ceased worrying.

The poet evidently intends that the "molt biel don" of l. 318, consisting of (a) permission to come and claim the freedom of any of his following who may be taken prisoner in the future, (b) the release of ten of his present fellow-prisoners, and a little later (c) his own unransomed release with a gift of money besides, shall be understood not as the fulfillment of a contract or even as payment, but as the manifestation of the *largesse* with which the knight is expected to enter upon his new estate. (c) is of course a fulfillment, with interest, of a promise made before there was any question of the honorary knighting.

The release of a knight on parole to collect his ransom from friends and well-wishers must have been a common occurrence. One of the vows of knighthood was, when taken prisoner in open warfare, to pay one's ransom faithfully or return to prison (Vulson de la Colombières, *Vrai Théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie*, I, 22, quoted Guizot, *Civilisation en France*, III, 157). But Christian ecclesiastics laid down the rule that an oath to infidels was null and void (Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 45), and many Christian knights who were made prisoner in Palestine took the clergy at their word in this matter. Ambroise (*Guerre Sainte*, LXXVIII) testifies that Guy de Lusignan was released by the Church from the obligation of an oath made to Saladin; and Cornish (*Chivalry*, p. 117, note) quotes from a Christian writer of the period the pathetic complaint that the Mohammedans could not be brought to appreciate the Pope's power of dispensation in such cases. There were noble exceptions, however, at least in fiction. The story of the Seigneur d'Anglure, who could not collect the stipulated ransom and went back to captivity, has been frequently told, (See Gaston Paris, *Légende de Saladin*, p. 292); and Cornish[13] mentions a tradition of a knight who kept a parole which had been allowed him to visit a lady, and whose generous captor, filled with admiration at his fidelity to his word, rewarded him with liberty. Joinville wondered at St. Louis' extreme love of truth, which

[13] *Chivalry*, p. 136. Cornish seems to be telling the incident used by Antonio de Villegas in his *novela*, *Historia del Abencerrage y la hermosa Jarifa*, which according to Ticknor has a historical basis. If this is the story he has in mind, Cornish has reversed the rôles. It was a Moorish knight who was taken prisoner, and the story is a tribute to Moorish, not to Christian, honor.

prompted him even to keep faith with infidels. All this contrasted painfully with the scrupulous and impartial fairness of Saladin, who, according to Lane-Poole, "never broke a treaty in his life." The story of his paying a ransom he had himself imposed can be parallelled from a well attested occurrence in his life. When he took Jerusalem he set a nominal price for the freedom of each inhabitant, but finding that several thousands of the population were too poor to pay even the modest sum he asked, he and his brother Malek-el-Adel advanced the necessary sum for their release (Ludlow, *Age of the Crusades*, p. 192). In Number Two of the *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, published in 1851 by Pietro Fanfani, from a MS. which its editor dates in the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth, one of Saladin's barons asks for the liberty of ten Christian prisoners, and another asks for the release of a baron, to which Saladin replies: "Se questi ò dati a voi che so' me sete, bene debbo gli altri a Deo, ch'è signore de me, dare. E così tutti li altri, che milliaja erano, per Dio molti lascioè."

The poet dwells on the police duties of the knight, especially in connection with the churches. If it were not for their presence, miscreants would steal the very cups from the communion tables, he says. It is for this reason, he goes on, that a knight comes to mass armed. The basis for the poet's complaint seems to have been an amply sufficient one. In the year 1203, it was so common a practice in Flanders to abuse churches and maltreat ecclesiastics that the Pope issued a special letter to the clergy of that region, enjoining them to excommunicate every layman guilty of such misconduct (*Cartulaires de la Prevôté de Saint-Martin*, p. 21). A little earlier, the bold preacher Geoffroy Babian fulminated against the violent nobility; "Quels sont ces loups? Ils attaquent les hommes, Dieu, les biens du Seigneur. Les temples consacrés à Dieu par le sacrifice de la Messe, ils les violent, ils y mettent le feu!"[14] There was a great deal of rudeness and disorder even among the devout who came for worship (L. de la Marche, *La Chaire française au Moyen Age*, p. 211). Since the sacred vessels were commonly of one of the precious metals[15] they naturally excited the cupidity or spite of the

[14] L. Bourgain, *La Chaire française au XIIe siècle*, p. 295. See also the warning to the young nobleman in *Raoul de Cambray*, p. 42, which would not have been uttered if there had not been a possibility of its being needed:

Fix, ne destruie chapele ne mostier.

[15] The *Siete Partidas*, I, IV, CXII, provide that they must be of gold or silver except in the case of very poor churches, which may have them of tin; and the *Sym-*

irreverent. During the outrages of the Coteraux, for instance, in 1183, these Vandals were in the habit of treating the vessels with special indignity (*Chronique de Guillaume de Nangis*, p. 55).

V. 458 f. informs us of a convention which demanded that those who were sitting should rise at the approach of a knight. The père Daniel (*Hist. de la Milice françoise*, p. 110) maintains that knights were regularly given the title of "Monseigneur" or "Messire," a mode of address which was not employed with others, even of the most ancient nobility;[16] and Le Grand narrates that they were allowed to eat at the tables of kings, which princes could not do unless they were knights.

If the knight does his duty, he cannot be prevented from going straight to Paradise, says our poem. This is a privilege which common men do not enjoy, as the poet implies by the following lines. Gautier, it is true, concludes (*op. cit.*, p. 768) that any baptized person not in mortal sin was supposed to rise straight to Heaven; and Matthew Paris (II, 323-4) notes under the year 1249: " . . . there departed to the Lord several illustrious French crusaders . . . and flew like martyrs to the celestial kingdoms"; but there is plenty of evidence of a different view. Thibaut de Champagne (*Chansons*, p. 125) declares for an interregnum, with no assignment to Heaven and Hell till the Judgment Day. The same doctrine is presented in the song *Parti de mal et a bien aturné* (Bédier et Aubry, *Chansons de Croisade*, p. 71). Moreover, our poet, in sending the deceased knight straight to Heaven, is allowing him to escape the necessary probationary stay in Purgatory, an institution whose existence, declared by the Council of Carthage (A. D. 396), was reiterated at Florence (1439) and at Trent (1545-63), so that it was an established Church dogma at the time we are dealing with. There is, however, a general opinion that the dogma did not take a firm hold on the average lay mind. Karl Vossler (*Die Göttliche Komödie*, I, 1,083) finds the doctrine unsuited for artistic treatment, and is of the opinion that Dante himself was not successful with it. P. Pfeffer (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des afrz. Volkslebens, meist auf Grund der Fabliaux*, p. 16) has not found a single reference to Purgatory in the *Fabliaux*. R. Schroeder (*Glaube und Aberglaube in den afrz. Dichtungen*; quoted G. Schiavo,

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bolism of Durandus, p. 68, accepts this regulation and gives the symbolic significance of each of these three materials but no other.

[16] This does not agree with Stowell's findings. See *Old French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, pp. 221 ff.

Fede e Superstizione, *Zeitschrift Für Romanische Philologie*, XIV, 1890, p. 91), has found such references rare in Old French literature in general and Schiavo (*loc. cit.*) concludes that "La fede popolare nel Purgatorio non doveva essere molto radicata. . . . " But literary use of the dogma is not so infrequent as Schiavo and Schroeder decide. Marie de France was far from the only writer to make use of it. Philippe de Navarre and La Tour Landry deal with it. Schiavo himself gives a respectable list of references. G. Deschamps, Baudouin de Sébourg, Gillibert de Cambres, and others, mention it, in passages cited in the Godefroy and Ste. Palaye dictionaries. It has taken strong hold on Wolfram (See *Grazer Studien zur deutschen Philologie*, Anton E. Schönbach und B. Seuffert, p. 106). Henry of Saltrey had used the St. Patrick story some years before Marie de France. Etienne de Bourbon (See his *Anecdotes historiques, Légendes et Apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, 23, p. 30), was a firm believer in Purgatory. The biographers of St. Patrick do not conceive of Purgatory as a separate institution, but as Hell inhabited for a limited period, a very common conception in the Middle Ages (*Grazer Studien*, p. 37). Of the other writers, it will be noted that they are nearly all later than the date we are concerned with. It would seem wise, then, to qualify Schiavo's statement and conclude that the idea of Purgatory was not foreign to the Mediaeval mind, but was slow in making a general impression. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that lay purgatorial societies, associations for the saying of masses for the souls of the deceased members, became very frequent, but were rare or non-existent till well into the thirteenth century.[17] But clerical organizations of this character had come earlier, the dogma was a familiar one with the Church, and our poet was a Churchman. The only conclusion is that he grants to knights, God's favorites, special exemption from an otherwise universal penance. One of the most offensive tenets of the Albigenses and the Vaudois was their disavowal of the Purgatory dogma, which disavowal would not have been so strongly insisted on or so frantically punished if it had not been a very definite Church doctrine.

Conferring the Order of Knighthood on one who is unworthy, according to Hugues, is like covering a *fumier* with a silk cloth and expecting the gay disguise to hide its foul odor. It is very much the figure used by Karl Bartsch (*Gesammelte Vorträge und Aufsätze*, VII: *Die Formen*

[17] *Catholic Cyclopedia*, s.v. *Purgatory*.

des geselligen Lebens im Mittelalter, p. 222) in his contention that the veneer of chivalry spread over Mediaeval society only covered a little of its inner rottenness. It is perfectly easy to see what brought this comparison to our poet's mind, and later to Bartsch's; the same practice, namely, which suggested to the author of the vulgar mock-epic Audigier (Barbazon-Méon, IV, 217) his account of the travestied knighting of the hero on a dung-hill. In the *Etablissements de St. Louis*, II, 252, CXXXIV, appears the regulation, "Se aucuns hom estoit chevaliers, et ne fust pas gentis hom de parage, tout le fust il de par sa mère, si ne le porroit il estre par droit; ainz le porroit prandre li rois ou li bers en qui chastelerie ce seroit, et (li feroit) droit ses esperons tranchier sus I femier. . . . " The *fumier* played a part in all ceremonies of degradation of a knight, and thus came naturally into the mind of anyone who thought of unworthiness for knighthood.

AUTHORSHIP, HISTORY AND INFLUENCE OF THE POEM

The earlier students of the *Ordene de Chevalerie*, Barbazon, Méon, Daunou (*Discours sur l'état des lettres en France au 13e siècle*, *Hist. Lit.*, XVI, 220), assume that it was written by Hugues de Tabarie himself. He might possibly have been able to compose such a poem if he had chosen to do so, since many of the Frankish nobility of that day in Syria were men of some education, and since verse making was by no means lightly esteemed among the upper classes in the generation of the Royal poet Richard Coeur-de-Lion; but it is clear enough that Saladin's captive would scarcely have described the affair so inaccurately, and that he certainly would not have made it the occasion of a religious homily, which is what the poem amounts to. A. Duval is right (*Hist. Lit.*, XVIII, 752), in assuming the author to have been a clerk. Line 422 is enough in itself to exclude the possibility of his having been a knight. There is of course nothing in the contention of Le Grand (*Fabliaux* I, 214), that the use of the word *paienie* to designate the Saracen dominions shows ignorance of the East, since the word was frequently employed by Christians resident in Syria, and even occurs in the *Assises de Jérusalem* (II, p. 161), as the official designation of non-Christian territory: but a person writing from first-hand knowledge of the circumstances would scarcely have left the implication that the "chevaliers de Galilée" were the entire Christian force, or that Hugues was their commander, unless he were purposely mis-stating the facts. Evidence in the same direction may be the author's statement that his story is based on "Un conte k'ai oï conter." Freymond (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, VI, 1882, p. 198) concludes from the poverty of the rhymes that the author was a man of no great education. It is evident that he was not a great poet, certainly; but the frequency of Biblical reminiscence, the Latin citations, and the constant preacher-tone, point almost unmistakably to a clerical author.

Of earlier literature, the influence of Chrétien's *Perceval* on the *Ordene* is unmistakable. Chrétien has a very clear conception of knighthood as membership in a society whose members have certain very definite obligations. As far as I have been able to discover, no French poet before Chrétien had developed this conception, and no one handled it in detail till our poet took it up again, in phrases which repeatedly are almost Chrétien's own (*Perc.* 543: "Biax filz as prodomes parlez"; *Ord.*

chev. 1; "Bon fait a preudomme parler."—*Perc.* 513 ff.: "Se vos trovez ne pres ne loing Dame qui d'aie ait besoing Ne pucele desconselliee La vostre aie aparelliee Lor soit s'eles vos en requierent Que totes enors i afierent"; *Ord. chev.* 268 ff.: "Dame ne doit ne damoisele Pour nule rien fourconsillier; Mais s'eles ont de lui mestier Aidier leur doit a son pooir Se il veut los et pris avoir." *Perc.*, 1633 ff., 6427 ff.; *Ord. chev.* 268 ff.—*Perc.* 1379; *Ord. chev.*, 1.—*Perc.* 1610 ff.; *Ord. chev.*, 466 ff.—*Perc.* 6420; *Ord. chev.*, 463, etc.).

Two prose adaptations of the poem are known, both of them from the thirteenth century. One is to be found in the same MS. with our version N. This adaptation was translated into modern French by Marin, who believed it, and not the poem, to be the older form of the story. Groeber reckons the prose version to be "erheblich jünger," but as I have shown elsewhere, this MS. was copied before the middle of the century, so that the difference in date between poem and prose re-telling could not have been great. In this account, Hugues is given only one year to collect his ransom, instead of two, as in the poem; the interview occurs in a tent instead of a room; Hugues is obsequiously polite and flattering in his manner of addressing Saladin; it is stated specifically that the Sultan's hair and beard are not shaved off, but only dressed; the two robes are put on Saladin while he is still in bed, and Hugues "li torne les gambes hors du lit" to draw on his *cauces*. The story ends abruptly, without a formal conclusion.

The other prose version is described in the *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français, Onzième Année*, 1885, as occurring in MS. 772 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lyons. The language is Picard-Vermandois, and the MS. is dated in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Possibly within the thirteenth century, and certainly not later than the beginning of the fourteenth, comes the interesting Dutch translation by Henri van Aken, curé of a parish near Louvain. This verse translation, written in an eight-line stanza rhyming *abababab*,—some of the stanzas are incomplete,—has 275 lines, and follows the original with considerable fidelity; but here Saladin asks Hugues to make a *bona fide* knight of him, not merely to show him how knights are made; and here there are 24 *almiraux*, instead of 50.

A version of the story appears in Borghini's collection of the *Cento novelle antiche*. Some of the stories in this collection seem to go back to the thirteenth century. But Borghini himself dates this particular

story later than 1300. Biagi, *Le Novelle antichi*, XXV, believes this version to have been copied from the one in *L'Avventuroso Ciciliano* of Bosone da Gubbio, but this is impossible. A retelling of the Bosone da Gubbio version could not have resulted in what is practically a translation of the French version, whereas the story as Bosone da Gubbio tells it involves different characters and a totally different setting. The copying must have been the other way around. In the Borghini account Saladin is clothed in a robe of white silk, and with brown shoes of *saie* or silk, is girded with a sword whose edges symbolize uprightness and loyalty, and is instructed in the four principal duties of the knight, which are (a) to avoid all places where false judgments are rendered or treasonable conversation indulged in; (b) to treat ladies well; (c) to be abstinent; (d) to give at mass, his means if he have means, his heart in any case.

Bosone da Gubbio, the friend of Dante, was born about 1280 and died before 1350, but since it is now considered very unlikely that he wrote, either in the year 1311 (Guiseppe Mazzatinti, *Bosone da Gubbio*, in *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, I, 281), or in any other year, the inchoate romance which was so long imputed to him, there is little profit in studying his life in connection with it. There is, moreover, manuscript evidence that the story, by whomsoever written, appeared before the end of the fourteenth century (Isodoro dal Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua cronica, Volume primo, parte seconda*, p. 1040). This form of the story harks back, not necessarily to our poem, as Dunlop thought, but certainly to the Barbazan-Méon prose version. The rôle of Hugues is here assumed by Messer Ulivo di Fontana, a Sicilian nobleman who goes East and becomes captain of the army of the King of Armenia. Taken prisoner by the Sultan of Babylon (confusion with Bagdad), he wins that satrap by his prowess in a tournament, and is offered his liberty for a large ransom. In connection with the discussion of his provisional release to secure the ransom, mention is made of the pleasant relations of another Christian, "il quale era appellato Franciesco," with a predecessor of the Sultan's. It is an historical fact that St. Francis of Assisi went to Egypt in 1219, and there are legends of his friendship with Malec-el-Kamel, Sultan of that country.—Then comes the knighting of the Sultan, which corresponds closely to that in the *Cento novelle*. As the story is told here, however, Ulivo at first refuses to give his captor the *accolade*, but finally relents and does so. The ceremony performed and the release secured, the Sicilian rides away to his country "lieto e

giojoso," in curious contrast to the Hugues of our poem, who is "plus dolans que nus" on account of the fellow countrymen whom he has been compelled to leave behind in captivity.

The story of the knighting of Saladin by Hugues had been told with considerable fidelity, though summarily, by the unknown author of the *Pas Saladin*, which E. Lodemann, (*Modern Language Notes*, XII, 1897, col. 276), believes to have been written not later than the beginning of the fourteenth century. The *Pas Saladin*, as well as Victor Le Clerc, who discusses it in *Hist. Lit.* XXIII, 491, is inaccurate in stating that Saladin remitted Hugues' ransom as payment for initiation into the knightly Order.—The story is said to be retold in the second part of the fifteenth century romance, *Jean d'Avesnes*.

No. XLIV of the *Novelle* of Anton Francesco Doni, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, is entitled "Cortesia del Saladino al principe di Galilea," and runs very much like a free translation of the prose version in the Lyons MS. In this account, Hugues buckles on only one spur instead of both. In various old monuments the statement occurs that the patron was expected to attach only the right spur.

In 1758 Marin printed the poem at the end of his *Histoire de Saladin*. According to Barbazan, he printed it from a copy secured for him by Ste. Palaye, but made by an incompetent copyist who was guilty of numerous blunders. Marin's prose translation of the poem is reprinted in the Nott edition of *L'Avventuroso Ciciliano*, pp. 439 ff. The translation follows MS. N. It has some errors which are due to the copyist, and some others which are misinterpretations of the text. Interesting details are the translation of *Preudome* by *chevalier*, and the statement that it is only during Holy Week that the knight is required to fast on Friday. This translation, at least as printed by Nott, ends with the story proper and dispenses with the moral.

In 1759 appeared Barbazan's text and commentary, in a little volume of *Contes Anciens*. Barbazan used MS. P for the most part, but corrected from N. This volume is erroneously stated by Ellis (Caxton's translation of Lull's *Order of Chivalry*, William Morris reprint, p. 148) to have been the first printing of the poem.

The first edition of Le Grand d'Aussy's *Fabliaux ou Contes*; *Fables et Romans du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*, was published in 1779. Volume I of this collection contains an abbreviated prose translation of our poem, with notes. The dependableness of this translation may be inferred from the detail that this translator understood the passage 346 ff. to mean

that the contributions of the Saracen leaders for Hugues' ransom lacked 13,000 besants of reaching the necessary amount, and that Saladin himself made up this deficiency; whereas the meaning is evidently that the ransom was oversubscribed by 13,000 (in our text 10,000) besants, and that Saladin made Hugues a present of this surplus in cash.

The Barbazan-Méon collection of *Fabliaux et Contes des poètes français des XI, XII, XIII, XIV, et XVe siècles*, in four volumes, is dated 1808. Our poem occupies the place of honor in the first volume. Méon knew MS. D, which Barbazan had not used, and is thus the first to make use of this most dependable of the MSS., but he changes the old Barbazan version very little.

A. Duval (*Hist. Lit.*, XVIII, 752) prints a large part of the poem, but it is clear that he has not gone back of the Barbazan-Méon version. He corrects a typographical error or two contained in their version, but makes a number of mistakes which neither his copy nor any one of the MSS. is responsible for.

L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, pp. 291 ff., retells the story of our poem on the basis, as he says, of a critical text of it prepared for him by E. Langlois. This text must have been made only from the three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Gautier is mistaken in believing that Barbazan knew only one MS. He has also confused the two prose versions.

The story is retold in detail, with a partial translation, by Lacroix, *La Vie militaire et religieuse au Moyen Age*, 1873.

The reprint of Caxton's retranslation from the fifteenth century French translation of Ramon Lull's *Libre del orde d'Cavayleria*, published in 1894 by William Morris and edited by F. S. Ellis, who, curiously enough, does not know that he is editing a retranslation, is very appropriately followed in the same volume by Morris' verse translation of our poem, made from the Barbazan-Méon text. It is very pretty, but there are occasional mistakes as to the meaning, due largely to lack of familiarity with Old French inflections. Once at least, Morris has blunted a very clever touch of the original. He translates l. 339, "Car ne voel pas c'a moi faillies," "By me thou shalt not fail therein." Marin kept the joke by translating "car je ne veux point que vous manquiez de me payer."—More nearly accurate than Morris' translation is the prose rendering by Isabel Butler, in her *Tales from the Old French*, 1910.

Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, III, 233 and V, 1514, mentions the *Histoire van Sultan Saladin, Hugo van Tiberias, und der Ritter Esawangz,*

described as "Poème romanesque, en stances de huit vers. C'est un livre fort rare, qui a été imprimé vers 1480, par Jean de Keyzère (Jean de Caesaris) à Audenarde." I have never seen this work.

The *Ordene de Chevalerie* was followed by several discussions of the symbolism of the knight's ordination which probably owe something of their line of development, directly or indirectly, to its influence. About the middle of the thirteenth century comes *L'Enseignement des Princes*, by Robert de Blois, whose account of the significance of each detail in the arming of the knight I have discussed elsewhere. Toward the end of the same century we have Ramon Lull's *Orde.* A generation or so later, Don Juan Manuel, nephew of King Alfonso, wrote *El Libro del Cauallero et del Escudero*, on the model of Lull's treatise, and a century later still appeared *Tirant lo Blanch* by Johanot Martorell, a Catalan imitation of Lull.

MANUSCRIPTS

It seems reasonably certain that our original poem dates from very early in the thirteenth century, although all the known MSS. are somewhat later.

D. Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 1553, fo. 410vo–413. Anc. 7595. Constans, in the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* VIII, p. 24, dated this MS. between 1258 and 1296. Paul Meyer found in fol. 323vo., the date M.CC. et iiijxx. et quatre, el moys de fevrier (i.e., February, 1284). This MS. seems to have been unknown to Barbazan, but was used by Méon in his revision of the Barbazan version. It is 479 lines long, and is written in the Picard dialect. Its treatment of *c*, in conjunction with that of *ĕ*, throws it to the far North, east of St. Omer and north of St. Quentin and Mézières (Groeber's *Grundriss*, 1/2, 764). The absence of *h* from *anter*, 4, points in the same direction. This spelling is frequent in Picard and Flemish texts of this period (See T. Atkinson Jenkins, *Modern Philology* X, 1912-13, p. 446, and the references cited by him there). Its reduction of *iei* to *i* restricts it to the territory west of Mézières (*Grundriss*, Map XII). The form *Orde* of the title would throw it well toward Walloon territory (A. Horning, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XV, 1891, p. 496; M. Wilmotte, *Romania*, XVII, 1888, 565). This MS. has more nearly the form of the original than either of the others.

N. Paris, Bib. nat. fr. 25,462, fo. 150-158vo. (Notre Dame 272).—Barbazan called it No. 7 de l'Eglise de Paris, and used it principally for his version. His account of its history will be found in the Barbazan-Méon collection, I, p. v. The same MS. contains one of the earliest prose versions of the poem, and in this prose version occurs the contraction *jes*, which Gengnagel (*Die Kürzung der Pronomina hinter vokalischem Auslaut im Afrz.*) could not find later than the *Chevalier as deus espees*, in the first half of the thirteenth century. In the poem occurs the form *sel*, which Gengnagel finds in Philippe Mousket (1243), but consider an archaism.—This MS. is Picard, also. Its failure to develop checked *ĕ* to *ie* would seem to throw it south of the St. Omer- St. Quentin-Mézières line (Groeber's *Grundriss*, 1/2, p. 764). Its dissimilation of *esporon* to *esperon* confirms this location. This MS. has 496 lines.

P. Bib. nat. fr. 837fo. 152-154vo., formerly anc. 7,218. Discussed by Raynaud, *Romania* IX, 1880, p. 222, and XXI, 1892, p. 146; by F. A.

Wulff, *Romania* XIV, 348, and by Paulin Paris, *MSS. Français de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, VI, 1845, 404-16. It was used somewhat by Barbazan, and more extensively by Méon in his revision. Wulff notes that most of the titles in this MS. have been erased and altered, which seems to be true of the title of this poem. Raynouard and Paulin Paris both date it toward the end of the thirteenth century, but the frequent occurrence of enclitic personal pronoun objects might throw it a little earlier. Its dialect is Francien, but it shows several peculiarities (*-ngn-*, *-aisse*), which would seem to indicate a location somewhat to the east of the Ile-de-France region. It has the Picard rhyme *esfors*; *cors*, independently of the others.—492 lines.

H. Brit. Mus. Harleian 4,333, f. 115-117. Described by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, 1872, 206 ff., and in the *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, III, 545. Meyer says it was written in the second half of the thirteenth century, but the entire disappearance of enclisis of personal pronoun objects and the frequency of such preterit forms as *fit*, *dit*, seem to indicate rather the beginning of the 14th. Its avoidance of the title *biaus sire*, which occurs in all the above MSS., would also indicate a later date. Its dialect is Champenois.—380 lines.

C. Cambridge, GC 6.38, fo. 8vo.—15. Described by P. Meyer, *Romania* XV, 1886, 343 ff., as Cambridge G.g., 6.28, which is probably an error. Its dialect is Anglo-Norman. The frequent occurrence of the form *graunt*, which Stürzinger, *Orthographica Gallica*, 39 (quoted E. Busch, *Laut- und Formenlehre der Anglonormannischen Sprache des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, 13), did not find before the year 1266, would set that date as approximately its *terminus a quo*, and the general appearance of *qu* as *k*, which Stürzinger and Busch find disappearing very shortly after the beginning of the 14th century, furnishes the *terminus ad quem*. Paul Meyer dated it about 1300.—The second plural verb ending in *-t* is found rhyming with a third singular, which disproves Menger's assertion (*The Anglo-Norman Dialect*, pp. 96 and 122) that this spelling is entirely graphic. The confusion of *ü* and *ou* would indicate a location in the North of England. The MS. was left unfinished by the first scribe, and was completed by another, from the same part of England, but whose spelling is slightly different.—398 lines.

X. Private library of Sir Thomas Phillips, Cheltenham, 8336. Described by P. Meyer, *Romania* XIII, 1894, 497 ff. This MS. is Anglo-Norman also, but as *ou* and French *ü* are not confused as in C, it is likely that it was written in the South of England. It has *ceo* as a demonstra-

tive adjective, which according to Menger (*op. cit.*, 117) indicates a comparatively late date. Meyer dates it in the first half of the 14th century.—378 lines.

Groeber's *Grundriss*, II/1, 709, mentions a MS. to be found in the Municipal Library of Metz, No. 855, fo. 11, but I have not been able to secure access to it.

Note 3 to G. Paris, *La Légende de Saladin*, *Journal des Savants*, May, 1893, 290, stating that another MS. of the poem may be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale under the number Bib. nat. fr. 24,432, fol. 29, is a mistake, as I have found by application to that library.

The general relationship of the MSS. is reasonably clear, but a grouping which takes account of every minor detail of evidence seems impossible. The poem must have been copied many times, and the number of MSS. which we possess today is relatively too small to build on with anything like certainty.

It is easily established, however, that D is the representative of one group which is fairly well separated from NPHCX. In ll. 3-5, 15-16, 25, 46, and some fifty other instances, the readings of the two branches are so totally different as to establish this division beyond a doubt. I have therefore given D equal weight with the entire group of the others, and in view of the additional facts that D tells the story more consistently than the others and is nearest the original in geographical location, I have, when other considerations seemed equal, even given D the preference.

Within the second group, NPH form a secondary group, whose members agree in readings which appear nowhere else, in l. 56 (*Et preudoms* NPH, *Nest hom* D, *Si vous* C, *nul* X), 72 (*A tant* NPH, *Dont* D, *Lors* CX), 279 (*Aidier leur doit a son pooir* NPH, *Om* D, totally different line CX), 288 (*jhesu* NPH, *chelui* D, *deu* C, totally different line X), 373 (*comte* NPH, *princhе* D, *om* CX), etc., etc., besides a long list of cases in which NPH agree with D, but differ from C and X.

X may easily have come from C. It shows no deviations from C which agree so well with the other MSS. as to indicate any direct knowledge of them on the part of the Anglo-Norman scribe. It has considerable new matter, which may easily have been invented by the scribe.

But in connection with this general grouping it must be noted that: DN have in common, where all others differ, 64 (*reuenres* DN, *tenez* PH, *creez* CX), 131 (*chou senefie* DN, *cis lis senefie* PHCX), and several other

cases none of which are decisive but all of which can scarcely be treated as coincidences.

DP have in common, where all others differ, 51 (*avoir ne les* DP, *ataindre ni* NHCX), 155 (*espandre* DP, *donner* NPHCX), and elsewhere.

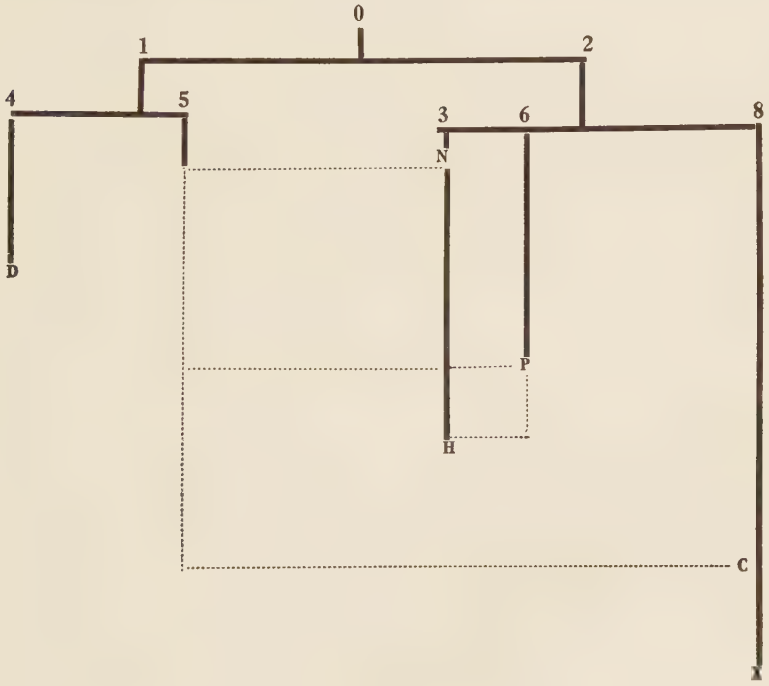
DH have in common, where all others differ, 106 (*precisier* DH, *enseignier* NPC, *apariler* X), and possibly one or two others.

DC have in common, where all others differ, 180 (*netement* DC, *fermement* NH, *saintement* P, *en chastete* X), 183 (*sa char* DC, *son cors* NP, *om* X), and perhaps others.

NH have in common, where all other differ, 50 (*conterois* NH, *donrois* D, *querrois* PCX), 122 (*Et estre plains de courtoisie* NH, all other MSS. totally different reading), and some twenty other cases.

PH have in common, where all others differ, 64 (*que vous tenez* PH, *que revenres* DN, *que vous creez* CX), 146 (*honor* PH, *deu* DNCX), and possibly another or two.

The probable relationship of the MSS. then, might be represented by the following diagram:



in which Arabic numerals represent hypothetical MSS. and the dotted lines indicate that four of the known MSS. show more than one influence. The number of MSS. was certainly much greater than the minimum suggested by the above scheme.

LANGUAGE

Tonic Vowels:

1.–*a*: All MSS. have *-age* in *damage: oltrage*, 23, 24, and *corage: eage*, 197, 8. *isniaus: chevaus*, 189, 90, seems to be an unusual liberty in rhyme: Tobler, *Le Vers français*, p. 163.

2.–*a*+*N*+*Cons.* DNPH have *enfecons* (*enfechons*), l. 117. I have found this form elsewhere only in Picard and Walloon texts. See *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXV, 1901, 757 f. *espandre: deffendre*, 155, 6. This is the only rhyme in the poem indicating confusion of *-an* and *-en*. By the thirteenth century this confusion had become frequent even in Picard (Helfenbein, *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 1911, 315). Suchier (*Voyelles toniques*, 40) finds such a confusion in the Anglo-Norman as early as Wace. But I believe that *espandre* may in some cases <*expendere* rather than *expandere*, which would dispose of the difficulty in some instances.

3.–*e*+*N*+*Cons.* *raembre:ataindre* D, 47,8. Suchier (*Voyelles toniques*, 44) finds *ain: en* in *Ben. Chronique* and the *Jeu d'Adam*. The other Mss. have *raembre:rendre* or *:prendre*.

4.–ę̆ does not rhyme with ę or with *ai*.

5.–ę̄. The form *Dię* is assured by rhyme, 127, 8 and 431,2. *Lie* <*laetus:-ię̄*, 355, 6.

6.–ę+i̯>*i*. *eglise:justice* 425, 6; *nices:calices*, 429, 30.

7.-Rhymes in *in* are pure.

8.–ǫ and ǫ are kept distinct.

9.–*ai* never rhymes with *e*. No rhymes in *ei*. None of *eil* with *ail*. *Pais* is a dissyllable, as is shown by meter in several cases, also by *:quis*, 381, 2. (Nyrop, *Grammaire Historique*, I/2, 275, Rem.) Mss. PCX often write *e* for *ai*.

10.–*ain*. See 3.

11.–*ie*+*n*. *bien:tien*, 39, 40. The study of a large number of monuments has seemed to indicate that *-iein*=*-ien* instead of *-in*, is a characteristic of the far North.

12.–Bartsch's law is observed. *lie*<*laetus:commenchiẽ*, 335, 6. *chevaliers:chiers*, 437, 8. The form *giẽ* is secured by *:congiẽ*, 71, 2.

13.–*ie* for *iẽe*. *chevalerie:emploie* (past part.) 85, 6. *folie:sachie*, 231, 2. DNPC have *cauchies:delies*, 159, 60; these must be the reduced forms, since the construction demands feminines.

14.–*eu* <o has not appeared. *iour:signour*, 283,4.

15.–*oi*<*ɩ:oi*<*oria*. *noire:memoire*, 161, 2.

16.–*ue*. *hom:Salemon*, 7, 8. *preudom:don*, 309.10.

Pretonic Vowels:

About 200 of the rhymes are only *suffisantes*, and the few leonine rhymes which do appear furnish us no information. The following are the results when two Latin vowels come together:

1.–*a*+vowel. *raënchon*, 57, 67, 329, 348. *païs*,303, 400. *deffaée*, 387.

2.–*e*+vowel. *eüssent*, 34. *creängié*, 71. *peüst*, 92. *geü*, 137. *veés*, 208. *seoir*, 307, 8. *poigneïs*, 313. *deïstes*, 327. *repreïst*, 362. *eüst*, 368. *seürement*, 460. But *eu* monosyllabic, 298.—This tendency is interesting in view of the fact that Suchier (*Auc. et Nic.*, p. 74, 22) finds *e* under these circumstances becoming mute earlier in the North and East than in the Ile-de France region. This would hint at an earlier date for our poem than that of *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

3.–*i*+vowel. m'afierés Fut. 5, trisyllable, 63. *merchiër* trisyllable 325, *oubliër* trisyllable 326.

4.–*o*+vowel. *oï*, 16. *oïr*, 236. *oïl*, 242. *pooit*, 287. *pooir*, 445,454.

5.–*u*+vowel. *juïse*, 228. But *puist* monosyllable, 184.

Syllabic Value of Mute e:

1.– *-ent*, third plural present, has syllable value. *fisent*, 22; *eüssent*, 34, etc.

2.–Atonic *e* between consonants in a word regularly has syllabic value. The characteristic Northern forms *prenderai*, 47, and *perderoit*, 411, are assured by meter. *Ordene*, 85, is a dissyllable (Tobler, *Vers français*, 38; G. Paris, *Etude sur le rôle de l'accent latin*, 24 ff.)

Prosthetic *e* has developed in *estant*, 174, *espouron*, 187, 192, 195, and *especiaus*, 257. This would exclude the poem from Northeastern territory.

Elision:

1.–*n'*. 11, 88, 99, 263 (*ni*), 432. No cases of *ne* remaining before a vowel.

2.–*qu'*. 16, 26, 73, 92, 132, etc., (21 instances). *que*, conjunction, remains before a vowel, 43, 58, 430, 488. *que*, relative pronoun, remains before a vowel, 230.

3.–*s'*. (a)<Latin *si*: 10, 260, 270, 292. (b) <*sic*: 36, 376. *si* (*se*) <*si*: 90, 272, 285, 287, 461. (b) <*sic*: 116, 298, 373, 399, 404.

4.–*j'*. 48. *iou*: 97, 343.

5. *–c'. chest*, 217, 237, 457. No instances where it is left unelided.

6.*–s'.* (feminine possessive) :231.

Enclisis:

1.–Of the article *le* (*les*): *el*, 137, 220, 394; *as*, 371, 308, 486.

2.–Of the pronoun *le: jel*, 84; *nel*, 93, 136, 141, etc.

Est loses its vowel after *ki:kist*, 33. Gengnagel, (*Die Kürzung der Pronomina*, p. 31), finds no such contractions after the 13th century.

Consonants:

1.– *-r: -rn*, showing that the *-n* has lost its pronunciation value, in 31, 2 (*ior:creator*), and in 283, 4 (*iour:Signour*).

2. – *-m: -n*, in 7, 8; 309,10; 329,30; 471,2. *donne:somme*, 153, 4, is assonance, not rhyme. See Tobler *Le Vers français*, p. 150; Birch-Hirschfeld, *Sage vom Graal*, p. 112.

3.*–mbr*: *ndr. raiembre: rendre*, 47,8. Since the *-m* and *-n* are so frequently identified in this poem, the only difficulty in the way of the rhyme is furnished by the intercalated *d* and *b*, which were probably lacking in the Picard original.

4.*–c* (*ch*). *blanche* (Picard *blanke*): *senefianche*, 221, 2, and *nices* (Picard *niches*):*calices*, 429, 30, are "Zwitterreime," which are very common in Picard.

5.– *-s* for *-z*, a Picard peculiarity, is assured by rhyme in several cases. *lenfecons:fons* (<*fontes*), 117, 8; *repos:sos*, 135, 6; *dis* (*pl.* of *dit* <*dictu*): *mis*, 219, 20; *rois, drois*, 331,2; *nus: venus*, 399, 400; *brebis: paradis*, 409, 10 (the last practically a Picard rhyme, since the form is commonly *berbiz* outside of Picard territory). Mss. DNP agree on *lis*, not *liz*, 135; on *ferus*, 281; on *mons*<*mundus*, 421.

6.*–s* for Picard *ch. eglise:justise*, 425, 6. *justitia* commonly>*justiche* in Picard. But *justise:eglise*, exactly as here, in *Carité*, XL, 6, and several times in *Gui de Cambrai*.

7.*–ŭl*+consonant loses its l. *nus:venus*, 299, 400.

Inflection:

1.–Possessives: The Picard form *vo* occurs, assured by meter, in 67, 87, 178, 179, 227, 250; *no* appears in 281 and 424.

2.–Demonstratives: The longer forms occur, *icel*, 21, *iceli*, 279. But the forms without *i-* are more frequent. *chele*, 77, *cis*, 115, etc.

3.–Personal pronouns: The feminine accusative form is *le*, 244, in all Mss. but H.

4.–Relative pronouns: *k'en*, 17, may be a case of elision of *i*, which was occasional in Old French; or it may be an example of the replacing of *qui* by *que* as a nominative relative, which De Jong (*Die Relativ-und Interrogativpronomina qui und qualis im Afrz.*, pp. 36, etc.) found to be common in Picard-Walloon. The Anglo-Norman Mss. do not show this elision, which agrees with De Jong's findings. (*Ibid.*, p. 33).

5.–Verbs: The first singular of *tenir* has no *-g*; *tien:bien*, 39, 40. The first singular of *promettre* has no *-s*: *Promet;Mohammet*, 41,2. The third singular perfect of *respondre* has no *-t*: *chi*, 61, 2. The first singular present of *dire* is *di*: *venredi*, 277, 8.

The first plural *donron* without *s*, is assured by *:prison*, 249, 50. Nyrop (*Gram. Hist.*, II, 54, Rem. 2) says this form is more common in the dialects of the West, but I find it several times in the *Bible de Sapience* of Herman de Valenciennes, assured by rhyme.

Puisso(u)mes, 484, is assured by meter. Neither *Aucassin at Nicolette* nor the *Renclus* has this form, but Baudouin de Condé has it as late as the 14th century. Nyrop II, 54, finds it regular in the far North.

Subjunctives. The form *aille*, which does not become frequent till late, is assured by rhyme, 313, 4. But since the corresponding third plural is found as early as Saint Bernard, the occurrence of this form proves nothing as to date.

7.–The nominative *-s* is retained in *rois*; *donrois*, 49, 50, and in *chevaliers:volontiers*, 81, 2.

Additional Notes on Language:

1.–The past participle with *avoir* agrees with a direct object either preceding (159, 60; 243, 4; 363, 4) or following (203; 204, 5; 387, 8). (But there is not agreement with preceding relative pronoun object in 230).

2.–The oblique case-form appears for the genitive in *table Diu*, 294, *table Dé*, 431, *sacrement le fil Marie*, 450. (But we have *De Dieu*, 233). Westholm, *Étude historique sur la construction du type 'Li fils le rei'*, p. 24, finds this construction becoming infrequent by the 13th century.

3.–*donne: somme*, 153, 4. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Sage vom Graal*, p. 112, thinks assonance was more frequent in Picard than elsewhere. The example used by Tobler, *Le Vers français*, p. 112, is from Baudouin de Condé, a neighbor of our poet.

4.–*garde:garde*, 5, 6. Our poet is driven to making a word rhyme with itself with identical meaning and construction.

5.–*Biaus sire*, 83, has not yet the sarcastic tone which Stowell (*Titles*

of Address, s.v.) finds general in the 13th century, and which it clearly has in the *Besant Dieu* of Guillaume le Clerc, (Ed. E. Martin, l. 447) as early as 1227.

It is likely, more particularly on the basis of the rhyme *bien:tien* 39, 40 (See under tonic vowels, above, 11) and the first plural *puisso(u)-mes*, 484, (See under inflection, above, 5), that our author was North Picard. This fits well with his glorification of a hero whose family came from St. Omer. The serious use of *biaus sire*, 83, the frequency of the appearance of the oblique case-form without preposition for the genitive, and the persistence of *e* before another vowel, point to a date not later than the very early 13th century.

TEXT

Bon fait a preudomme parler,
Car on i puet molt conquester
De sens, de bien, de cortoisie.
Bon fait anter lor compaignie;
Ki a lor fais velt prendre garde
Ja de folie n'aroit garde;
Car on le treve en Salemon
Que tout adiés fait sages hom
Toutes ses oevres sagement.
Et s'il auchune fois mesprent
N'est pas sages en mesprendant
Quant a folie va tornant.
Tout chou me convient trespasser,
Mais des or me convient conter
Et amoier et atorner
Un conte k'ai oï conter
D'un roi k'en terre paienie
Fu jadis de grant signorie
Et molt fu loiaus Sarrasins:
Il ot a non Salehadins.
A icel tans de che bon roi
Fisent aus gens de nostre loi
Sarrasin souvent grant damage
Par lor orgueil, par lor outrage;
Tant que par aventure avint
Qu'en la bataille uns prinches vint:
Hues ot non de Tabarie.
Od lui ot molt grant compaignie
Des chevaliers de Galilée,
Car sires ert de la contrée.
Assés fisent d'armes le ior,
Mais il ne plot au Creator
Ki'st apielés li rois de gloire
Que li nostre eüssent victoire,
Car la fu pris li prinches Hues,
S'en fu menés parmi les rues

Tout droit devant Salehadin.
Il le salue en son latin,
Car il le connissoit molt bien:
"Hues, molt sui lies quant vous tien,
Chou dist li rois, par Mahommet,
Et une cose vous promet:
Que il vous convenra morir,
Ou a grant raënchon venir."
Li prinches Hues respondi,
"Puis que m'avés le giu parti,
Je prenderai dont le raiembre
Se j'ai de coi le puisse rendre."
"Oïl, che li a dit li rois,
Cent mile besans me donrois."
"Ha, Sire, avoir ne les poroie,
Se toute ma terre vendoie."—
"Si ferés bien."—"Sire, comment?"—
"Vous estes de grant hardement
Et plains de grant chevalerie,
Et preudons n'escondira mie
Se rouvés por vo raënchon,
Que il ne vous doinst un biel don.
Ensi vous porés aquiter."
"Or vous voel iou dont demander
Comment jou partirai de chi."
Salehadins li respondi:
"Hues, vous le m'afiërés
Sor vo loi que chi revenrés
Et desor le vostre creanche,
Ke d'ui en deux ans sans faillanche
Arés rendu vo raënchon
U vous revenrés emprison.
Ensi porés partir de chi."
"Sire, fait il, vostre merchi;
Tout ensi le vous creangié."
Dont a demandé le congié,
C'aler s'en velt en son païs;
Mais li rois l'a par la main pris,
Dedens sa cambre le mena,

Et molt douchement li pria.
"Hues, fait il, par chele foi
Que tu dois au diu de te loi,
Fai moi sage dont; j'ai talent
De savoir trestout l'errement,
Car ie saroie volentiers
Comment on fait les chevaliers."
"Biaus sire, fait il, non ferai."
"Pour coi?"—"Sire, jel vous dirai.
Sainte ordene de chevalerie
Seroit en vous mal emploïe,
Car vous estes viex en vo loy
Si n'avés baptesme ne foy,
Et grant folie entreprendroie
Se un fumier de dras de soie
Voloie vestir et couvrir,
K'il ne peüst jamais puïr.
A nul fuer faire nel poroie,
Et tout ensement mesprendroie
Se sour vous metoie tel ordre.
Je ne m'i oseroie amordre,
Car iou en seroie blasmés."
"Ha, Hues, fait il, non serés.
Il n'i at pont de mesproison,
Car ie vous tien en ma prison
Si vous convient mon voloir faire,
Mais que bien vous doie desplaire."
"Sire, puis que faire l'estuet,
Et nus consaus valoir ne puet,
Si le ferai tout sans dangier."
Lors li commenche a precisier
Tout chou que il li convient faire.
Caviaus et barbe et le viaire
Li fist apparillier molt biel;
C'est drois a chevalier nouviel.
Puis le fait en un baing entrer,
Lors li commenche a demander
Li rois que cis bains senefie.
Hues respont de Tabarie:

"Sire, cis bains u vous baigniés
Si est a chou senefijés.
Tout droit ensi com l'enfechons
Nes de pechiés ist fors del fons
Quant de baptesme est aportés,
Sire, tout ensement devés
Issir sans nule vilonnie
De cest baing, car chevalerie
Se doit baignier en honesté,
En cortoisie et en bonté,
Et faire amer a toutes gens."
"Molt est biaus chis commenchemens,
Che dist li rois, par le grant Dé."
Apres si l'a du baing osté
Si le coucha en un biel lit
Ou il avoit molt de delit.
"Sire, fait il, chou senefie
C'on doit par sa chevalerie
Conquerre lit emparadis,
Que dex otroie a ses amis,
Car chou est li lis de repos;
Ki nel conquerra molt ert sos."
Quant el lit ot un peu geü
Sus le dreche si l'a vestu
De blans dras ki erent de lin,
Lors dist li prinche en son latin:
"Sire, nel tenés a escar;
Cil drap ki sont pres de vo car,
Tout blanc, vous donnent a entendre
Que chevaliers doit adiés tendre
A se car netement tenir
S'il a Diu velt ia parvenir."
Apriés li vest robe vermelle.
Salehadins molt s'esmervelle
Pour coi li prinches chou li fait.
"Hues, fait il, tout entresait,
Di que la robe senefie,"
Hues respont de Tabarie:
"Sire, ceste robe vous donne

A entendre, chou est la somme,
Que vostre sanc devés espandre
Por Dieu et por sa loi deffendre,
Que nus ne puist vers lui mesfaire;
Car tout chou doit chevaliers faire."
Apriés li a cauches cauchies
De saie bieles et delies,
Et li dist: "Sire, sans faillanche,
Che vous redonne en ramenbranche
Par cheste cauchemente noire
C'aiés tout adiés en memoire
La mort et la terre u girés
Dont venistes et u irés.
A che doivent garder vostre oel,
Si n'enkerrés pas en orguel,
Car orgiels ne doit pas ragner
En chevalier, ne demourer;
A simpleche doit adiés tendre,"
"Tout chou est molt bon a entendre,
Dist li rois, et pas ne me grieve,"
Apriés en son estant le lieve,
Puis si l'a chaint d'une chainture
Blanche et petite de faiture:
"Sire, par cheste chainturete
Est entendu que vo car nete,
Vos rains, vo cors entirement
Devés maintenir netement.
Luxure ne devés amer,
Car chevaliers doit molt garder
A sa char netement tenir,
K'il ne se puist en che forbir;
Car dex het molt si faite ordure."
Li rois respont: "Chou est droiture."
Apriés deus espourons li mist
En ses deus piés, et puis li dist;
"Sire, tout autresi isniaus
Que vous volés que vos chevaus
Soit de bien corre entalentés
Quant de l'espouron le hurtés,

K'il voist partout isnielement,
Et cha et la a vo talent,
Senefient cist espouron,
Ki doré sont environ,
Ke dou tout metes vo corage
A servir Dieu tot vostre eage;
Car tout li chevalier le font
Ki Diu aiment de cuer parfont;
Adiés le servent de cuer fin."
Molt plaisoit bien Salehadin.
Apriés li a chainte l'espée.
Salehadins a demandée
La senefianche du brant.
"Sire, fait il, che est garant
Contre l'assaut del anemi,
Tout ensement com veés chi
Deus trenchans ki nos font savoir
C'adiés doit chevaliers avoir
Droiture et loiauté ensamble.
Chou est a dire, che me samble,
K'il doit la povre gent garder
Ke li riches nel puist foler,
Et le foible doit soustenir
Que li fors ne le puist honnir.
C'est oevre de misericorde."
Salehadins bien li acorde,
Ki bien a escouté des dis;
Apriés li a ens el cief mis
Une coiffe qui toute ert blanche,
Puis li dist la senefianche.
"Sire, fait li, or esgardés:
Tout ensement com vous savés
Que cheste coiffe est sans ordure
Et biele et blanche, nete, pure,
Ki est desus vo cief assise,
Ensement au ior de juïse
Doit l'ame estre nete defors
Des pechiés ke a fait li cors,
Et doit s'ame avoir de folie

Par penitanche fors sachie,
De Diu por avoir la merite
Et le solas et le melite.
Que langue nel poroit conter
Oreille oïr ne cuer penser;
C'est la ioie de paradis
Que diex otroie a ses amis."
Li rois trestout chou escouta
Et en apriés li demanda
S'il i faloit nule cose.
"Sire oïl, mais faire ne l'ose."
"Que chou est dont?"—"Sire, colée."
"Pour coi ne le m'avés donnée
Et dite la senefianche?"
"Sire, chou est la ramenbranche
De chelui ki l'a ordené
Et a chevalier adobé;
Mais mie ne le vous donron,
Car ie sui chi en vo prison,
Si ne doi faire vilonnie
Pour cose q'on fache ne die;
Et pour chou ne vous os ferir;
Bien le devés atant soffrir.
Mais encor vous voel iou moustrer
Et ensaignier et deviser
Quatre coses especiaus
C'avoir doit chevaliers nouviaus
Et toute sa vie tenir
S'il a Diu velt ia parvenir:
Chou est tout au commenchement
K'il ne soit a faus jugement,
N'en liu ou il ait trahison,
Mais tost s'emparte a habandon;
Se le mal ne puet destorner
Errant se doit d'illuec torner.
L'autre cose si est molt biele:
Dame ne doit ne damoisele
Pour nule rien fourconsillier;
Mais s'eles ont de lui mestier

Aidier leur doit a son pooir
Se il veut los et pris avoir;
Car femes doit on hounourer
Et pour lor drots grans fais porter.
L'autre cose si est pour voir
Que contenanche doit avoir;
Et pour chou le vous mostre et di
K'il doit juner le venredi
Ens en icheli ramembranche
De chelui ki fu de la lanche
Ferus pour no redemption,
Et ki a Longis fist pardon.
Toute sa vie en chelui jour
Doit juner pour nostre Signour
Se il nel laist par maladie
U par auchune compaignie;
Et se il ne pooit juner
Si se doit a Diu acorder
D'aumosne faire u d'autre cose.
L'autre si est a la parclose
Que cascun jour doit messe oïr;
S'il a de coi si doit offrir.
Car molt est bien l'offrande assise
Qui a la table Diu est mise;
Car ele porte grant vertu."
Li rois a molt bien entendu
Quanque Hues li va contant,
Si en a eu joie molt grant.
Apriés chou li rois est levés;
Ensi com il fu atornés
Dedens la sale s'en entra.
Chinquante amiraus i trouva,
Ki tout erent de son païs.
Puis est en sa caiere assis,
Et Hues s'assist a ses piés.
Mais tost fu amont drechiés.
Li rois l'a fait en haut seoir.
Devant lui desour un seoir.
"Hues, por chou k'estes preudom

Vous voel doner un molt biel don,
Car ie vous otri bonnement,
Si nus est pris de vostre gent
En poigneïs ne en bataille,
Pour vostre amour cuites en aille
Se vous les volés aler querre.
Mais cevalchiés parmi ma terre
Tout bielement et sans desroi.
Sour le col de vo palefroi
Metés vo gambe en contenanche
C'on ne vous fache destourbanche.
Et de vos gens ki or sont pris
Vous renderai desci a dis
Se les volés oster de chi."
"Sire, fait cil, vostre merchi,
Car che fait molt a merchier.
Mais ne voel pas chou oubliër
Que me deïstes que rouvasse
Quant iou les prudommes trovasse
Pour aidier a ma raënchon.
Mais ie ni voi or si preudom
Comme vous estes, sire rois;
Si me donnés, car chou est drois
Quant le rouver m'avés apris,"
Salehadins en a molt ris
Et dist a sanlant d'omme lié:
Vous avés molt bien commenchié,
Si vous donrai trestout sans gile
De bons besans quarante mile,
Car ne voel pas c'a moi failliés."
Apriés chou s'est levés empiés
Et a dit au princhе Huon:
"Or irons a chascun baron,
Et jou irai avoecques vous."—
"Signor, fait li rois, donnés nous
A cest grant princhе rachater."
Adont commenchent a donner
Li amiral tout environ
Tant que il ot sa raënchon

Larghement, que li remanans
Valut bien dis mile besans,
Tant li ont donné et promis,
Dont a Hues le congié pris,
C'aler s'en velt de paienie.
"Ensi n'en partirés vous mie,
Che dist li rois, dusques atant
Que vous arés le remanant
Dou sourplus que vous ai promis;
Car en mon tresor seront pris
Li dis mile besant d'or mier."
Lors a dit a son tresorier
Que il les besans li rendist
Et apriés si les repreïst
A chiaus ki les orent donnés.
Cil a les besans bien pesés
Si les donne au prinche Huon,
Si les a pris, u voelle u non,
Car il n'en voloit nul porter:
Plus chier eüst a racater
Ses hommes k'il ot emprison,
Qui erent en caitivison
Entre les mains as Sarrasins;
Et quant le sot Salehadins
Si en a Mahommet juré
Que jamais n'ierent racaté.
Et quant li prinches l'oïdire
S'en ot au cuer dolour et jre.
Mais le roi plus prijer n'osa
Pour chou que Mahommet jura,
Car il ne l'osa corechier.
Lors commenche a apparillier
Ses dis compaignons k'il ot quis
Pour remener en son païs.
Mais il i a plus demoré
Huit iors tos plains et seiorné
A grant feste et a grant deduit;
Lors a demandé le conduit
Parmi la terre deffaée.

Salehadins li a livrée
Grant compaignie de se gent:
Chinquante sont ki bonnement
Les conduient par paienie
Sans orgueil et sans vilonnie
C'onques n'i orent destorbier.
Cil se sont mis el repairier
Si s'en viennent en lor contrée,
Et li prinches de Galylée
S'en revint si faitierement.
Mais molt le poise de sa gent,
Si en est plus dolans que nus.
Dont est en son païs venus,
Lui onsime sans plus de gent.
Dont departi l'or et l'argent
K'il avoit od lui aporté
Si en a maint homme donné
Ki en est riches devenus.
Signor, bien doit estre venus
Cis contes entre bonne gent,
Car as autres ne vaut niënt,
Ki n'entendent plus que brebis,
Foi que doi Diu de Paradis;
Chil perderoit bien ses joiaus
Ki les jetroit entre porchiaus.
Sachiés k'il les defouleroient
Que ia nul n'en espargneroient
Car il ne saroient pas tant
Si seroient mesentendant.
En chest conte puet on trouver
Deus coses ki font a loer:
L'une si est au commenchier
Comment on fait le chevalier
Que tous li mons doit honorer;
Car il nous ont tous a garder,
Car se n'estoit chevalerie
Petit vauroit no signorie;
Car il deffendent sainte eglise
Et si nous tiennent bien iustise

De chiaus ki nous voellent mal faire.
D'iaus loer ne me voel retraire;
Ki ne les aime molt est nices;
Ke on embleroit nos calices
Devant nous a la table Dé
Ke ia en seriens destourné.
Mais lor justiche bien empense
Que de par aus nous fait deffense.
Se li malvais ne les cremoient
Ja homme durer ne poroient;
Mais il criement les chevaliers,
Si les doit on avoir plus chiers
Et essauchier et honorer,
Et se doit on contre iaus lever
Adiés quant on les voit venir.
Certes, bien devroit on honnir
Chaius ki les tiennent en vilté;
Car ie vous di par verité
Que li chevaliers a pooir
De toutes ses armes avoir
Et en sainte eglise aporter
Quant il vient la messe escouter,
Que nus malvais ne contredie
Le serviche le fil Marie
Et le saint digne sacrement
Par cui nous avons salvement.
Et se nus le voloit desdire
Jl a pooir de lui ochire.
Et encore dire m'estuet:
Fai que dois, aviegne qui puet.
C'est commandé au chevalier
Si l'en doit on avoir plus chier.
Ki bien cheste parolle entent,
(Car ie vous di seürement),
Se il faisoit selont son ordre,
En nul fuer ne se puet estordre
De droit aler emparadis.
Pour chou vous ai iou chi apris,
A paier chou que vous devés:

Que les chevaliers honorés
Sour tous hommes entirement,
Fors prestre ki fait sacrement.
L'autre chose si est por voir
Que par chest dit puet on savoir
K'il avint au prinche Huon,
K'il fait molt bien servir preudom:
Quant Salehadins l'ounera,
Ki paiens fu et molt l'ama.
Molt valt a prudomme servir;
Et ne se doit on pas tenir
De faire bien a son pooir,
Car on i puet grant preu avoir.
Et ie truis lisant en latin:
De bonnes oevres bonne fin.
Or prions au definement
Chelui ki est sans finement,
Quant nous venrons au definer,
Que nous puissomes si finer
Que nous aions sa gloire fine
Ki as bons mie ne define;
Et pour chelui ki chou escrist
Que il soit avoec Jhesucrist;
Et en l'ounour Sainte Marie
Amen! amen! chascuns en die.

CHI DEFINE LI ORDENES DE CHEVALERIE

VARIANTS:

9 bonement N. 11 Comment que soit par non savoir N. 12 De legier doit pardon avoir N. 13 Tant com il sen voelle retraire N, Tant comme jl sen vueille entremetre P. 14 retraire N. Desormes voudrai paine metre P. 15 A rimoier e a conter NP. 17 Jadis estoyt en CX. 18 Un roy de mout CX. 21 Crueus fu et mout de desroi N. 22 Fist mainte fois a nostre loi N. 23 Et a no gent fist maint N, molt grant H, Les sarazins mout graunt CX. 24 son N, une fois PCX. 26 Par N, qua P, Ke a la C. 28 Savoit o lui P, Et out ove ly C, Yl out od ly X. 30 sire estoit D. 33 Con apele NP. (X *inserts line*: Ore escotez ceste estoyre). 36 aval N. 37 Droit par devant N. 38 Si N. 40 Hue fet Sadalin ben viegnez X. 42 De deus choses elyses X. 43 Par mon deu vous morres X. 44 devenyr C, Ou . . . renderez X. 46 Au roi ensi com iou vous di D. 47 meuth voil la ranson prendre X. 48 ataindre D, ateindre H, prendre C. Donks

dyt ly roys Hughe escotez X. 49 Conterois NH, querrois P, querrez CX. 51 ataindre ni N. 53 Puys questes tant alose X. 54 prise de chivalerie C, De chyvalerie et tant pryse X. 55 Nest hom ki vous escondist mie D, Si vous ne escoundire mye C, E joe croy qe nul sescundira X. 57 a N, Sel priez H, Pruzhomme a C, que a . . . ne vos durra X. 63 dist il X. 64 foi N, que vous tenez PH, le deu en qy vous creez CX. 66 dedens X. 67 paie H. 68 ma prysun C. 69 (*Om.* P) (*Extra line* H: Li princes Hues respondi). 70 (*Om* P), ioe vous mercy X. 71 Sire ainsi P, Vostre volente ferai gie H, grauns ioe C, (*Om* X). 72 A tant NPH, Lors C, Lors ad Huhe le conge prys X. 74 od ly le prist X. 75 Et on NP, lemmena NH, En une chambre CX, si li dist X. 76 le demaunda C, (*Om* X). 78 tenes D. 79 Car le me dites D, me voyllez ore enseigner X. 82 (*Om.* X; 80 *and* 81 *reversed* HC). 83 Ha HCX. 85 ordre est D. 87 de male loy N, ne estes usee en la C, Puys qe nestes de nostre X. 88 De bien de batesme et de D. 89 molt . . . feroie H. 91 Vodraye C, Vorrei X, parer et vestiyr CX. 92 Si que iamais H. 94 Qar countre ma loy X. 95 (*Om.* X). 96 (*Om.* X). 100 vous estes NPHC, Puys qestes X. 102 Qar il covient ma volunte fere X. 103 (*Om.* H). 104 Ne contredis N. 106 Ore vous voylez apariler X. 107 De reteynre cel haut estat X. 108 Qest a nostre deu bon et grat X. (X *has two extra lines*: ly fet aparailer ses cheuuls, Sa barbe et son veyeer). 109 Plus honest et plus bel X. 110 Qar ceo afert X. (X *two extra lines*: Ces sount seignes de prouesce, De corteisie et de sagesce). 112 prist D. 113 soudans N. 115 (*Om.* N). 116 (*Om.* N), pur HCX. 117 ensement N, issi com li P. 118 Par le prestre en est fors jetes D, est pleinement baptizez X. 122 Et estre plains de courtoisie NH. 123 Baignier deves NH. 125 (*Om.* X). 126 Ci ad mout bel C, (*Om.* X). 127 et pas ne me grieve D, (*Om.* X). 128 en son estant se lieve D. 129 se D, Sil lad en un bel lyt couche C, Et en un beau lit coche X. 130 Q'estoit fais (fez, faiz) par grant delit NPH, (*Om.* X). (P *two extra lines*: Hues dites moi sanz faillance, De ce lit la senefiance). 131 cis lis vous PHC, Et li dit qe lit X. 135 (*Om.* HX). 136 Qui la ne sera NPC, (*Om.* HX). 137 (*Om.* D). 138 Puis H. 140 Hues N, au roi salahadin P. 143 nous D, 145 son cors P, a honor PH. 149 (*Om.* CX). 150 (*Om.* CX). 151 Houghe fet il de tabarayie C, (*Om.* X). 152 Ceste robe que signefye C, Sire die huhe entendez X, (*Om.* H). 153 nous D, qe ceste robe issi colorez X. 154 (*Om.* X). 155 donner NPHCX. (NHCX *extra line*: Pour diu servir et hounourer. 156 sainte eglise DNHCX, (NHCX *extra line*: Que nus ne puist vers li mesprendre). 157 Cest entendu par le vermeil NPHCX. 158 Hues fet il molt me merveil NPHCX. (NH *extra line*: Sil veut a diu de noient plaire). 160 brunes N, noires P, de bruges H, brune saye CX. 161 Sire sachet ben sauns dutaunce C, (*Om.* X). 162 nous D, (*Om.* X). 163 E ly dit qe X, (*Om.* H). 164 Veut qil eyt X, (*Om.* H). 165 gira X. 166 vynt irra X. 167 Ades i doient tendre H, En orguil ia ne cherra X. 168 ne tenes pas a D, Ki de ceo se recordera X. 169 dement a chivaler X. 170 cuer de gentil chevalier H, Qi qe vorra adreyt penser X, 171 Simplesce et humilite X. 171 Auyenent ben a tel dignete X. 173 (*Om.* CX). 174 (*Om.* CX) 176 gente D. 177 (*Om.* X). 178 Et li dit lentendement X, 179 Qil garde ses reyns enterement X. 180 tenir tout fermement NH, tenir molt saintement P, Saunz luxure en chastete X, (NPHC *extra line*: Ainsi com en virginite, NPC *extra line*: Vo cors tenir en netee (sayntete). 181 despire et blasmer N, hanter P, (*Om.* X). 182 amer NH, (*Om.* X). 184 honir NPC, Se il viet a honor venir H (*Om.* X). 185 (*Om.* PH), seet ben sil fet C. 186 (*Om.* PH). 188 Bien dorrez X. 189 Sire fait

il D, ensement C, cum chivaler X. 190 Et D, Com HC De sesporounz poynt son destrier X. 191 Fut C, Et le fet coure ignelement X. 192 a poyndre met son talent X. 193 a vo talent NPC, (*Om.* H), Poyndre ta char qe par ahaunce X. 195 Ta alme ne face meserrer X. 196 sunt de or C, Ne en orde pensee deliter X. 197 Vous aijes bien en N, vous soiez de bon P, toz jorz aiez en H, Mes fa qe ton corps a lesprit X. 198 De dieu servir NH, Tant com vivrez en P, Sacorde saunt contredit X. 199 se font ansin H, Et donks serra pur veritez X. 200 (*Om.* H) Vostre destrer trebien guyee X. 201 (*Om.* PX), Et ꝧ C. 202 Bien a pleut a D, (*Om.* PX). 204 Apries chou . . . chaint D. 208 Chou apris jou ja autressi N, Par cests croyz X. 209 E en cele espee poet voer CX. 210 Deus trenchaunt ke nous fount a saver CX. 211 Qe dreyture et leaute X. 212 A chivaler afyert ben coe semble C, aferent a chivaler dubbe X. 213 homme PCX, (*Om.* N). 214 laidir N, grever P. 215 (*Om.* H) garantir X. 216 (*Om.* N), 217 (*Om.* H). 218 si NPH, se CX. 219 les D, A coe ke li counte ly deuyse C, (*Om.* X). 220 ensson N, sur son C, Apres la blanche cayfe y mit X. 221 trestote H, Sour son chef si li dit X. 222 Apres C, (*Om.* X). 223 agarder C, (*Om.* X). 224 autressi Veez P, seyet C, (*Om.* X). 225 Cest CX. 226 Bien asise X. 227 Et NPHC, Cest la gloire qe averet aquer X. 228 Autretel H, Quant li haut sire vendra juger X. 229 Des grans pechies que fais avons N. 230 Devons lame rendre a estrous N. 231 pure et nete NP, nette et pure C, (*Om.* HX). 232 Que li cos a tous jours (toz iors) basties NP, (*Om.* HX). 233 (*Om.* PX). 234 De paradis qui mout (tant) NH, (*Om.* X). 235 (*Om.* X). 236 (*Om.* X). 237 biautes (beaute) NPHX, (*Om.* X). 238 (*Om.* X). 242 Ke (qe) CX. 243 chest li N, Cest a la fin la X. 245 Dites moy C. 247 adoube NPHC, dubbe X. 248 ordone NPHC, Et mis en cele dignete X. 249 ie sui ci en vo prison H, ie ne la vous doneye C, E gardez si un cheitifs enprisone X. 250 Si ne doi faire mesprison H, Al roy deit doner la colee X. 251 (*Om.* X). 252 me N, Pur ren C, (*Om.* X). 253 Si ne vous voel (vueil, volay) NPC, (*Om.* X). 254 vous tenir N, (*Om.* X). 256 prouver D, nommer H, (*Om.* PHX). 260 (*Om.* PHX). 261 La primere X. 262 ja X. 263 y C, Lautre qe soit atempre X. 264 par che sont tot abandon D, En parole en beoyre e mesure X. 265 E si il ne la . . . trestourner C, Qa nul iour de sa vie X. 266 Tantost NPHC, Checе en yveresce ou en gloutonye X, 267 (*Om.* D), Se il truve dame esgarree CX. 268 (*Om.* D), ou pucele descounfourtee CX. 269 (*Om.* D), desconseillier PH, Il les doit bonement ayder CX. 270 (*Om.* D), Et H, Et en leaute conseyler CX. 271 (*Om.* DX), Si issi soyt ke eles le querent C. 272 (*Om.* DX), Kar touz honors i affyerent C. 273 (*Om.* DHX), Lur amour deyt estre commune C. 274 (*Om.* DHX), Ke hom les ayme totes par une C. 275 (*Om.* X). 277 abstinence NPHX, (*Om.* X). 277 verite le vous di NPHC, Puys en record de nostre sauveor X. 278 au NP, Doyt chescune symayne. j. jour X. 279 Pour (Par) chele sainte NH, El non de P, Juner ceo est par vendredi X. 280 Que Jhesucris N, jhesu PH, Ke deu C, Qest jour pour juni establi X. 281 Et ke a longys fit pardoun C, Cel iour fu feru de la launce X. 282 de sa mort remission C, Jesu e pour ceo deit en penaunce X. 283 Chescun passer la iournee X. 284 Qe ly cleyme pour avoue X. 285 pour NPH, compegnie H, Chescun chivaler qad saunte X. 286 pour NPHC, Et par compaignye nest destourbe X. 287 sil ne puet pour chou (pro ce) NP, portant H, juner ne purra X. 288 vers NPH, enver C, Par amosnes saquytera X. 289 De amone ou de C, Un autre chose fere estut X. 290 avenaunte chose C, Qy bon chivaler estre veot X,

(*Om.* H). 292 il puisse D. 293 laumosne P, mise H, Mout est tel offrende ben aplaye X. 294 lautel dieu H, Qest myse a la table deu X. 295 (*Om.* H). 296 (*Om.* H). Saladyn ad byen X. 297 Chou (ceo) que NCX. 298 (*Om.* X). 299 ʁen est en piez P, en son estant C, Puys est estaunt X. 300 est D, ert P, adoubez HCX. 301 Droit en sa cambre N, son palais P, sale CX. 304 Li rois H, Lors CX. 305 se sist N, (*Om.* X). 306 (*Om.* X). 307 Si la deiouste lui assis P, amont H, Lez ly C, Puys fist Huhe lee ly ser X. 308 pour voir N, de voir HC, Et vous commence a ly parler X. 309 Pour chou (Pur coe) que vous NC, Por tant que me samblez H, Hue fet yl entendez X. 310 faire NPC, Je vos donrai H, Un beau doun vous dorrai X. 312 (*Om.* X), soyt C, Qe si nul de vostre gent X. 312 ou C, seyt pris X. 314 sen NCX. 315 le NP, venir PC, *Om.* X). Mes saves Qil vous covient fere X. 316 Si chivachet C, Vous chiaucherez X, (*Om.* H). 317 simplement NPCX, (*Om.* H). 319 hiaume N, (*Om.* H). 320 (*Om.* H). 321 juusca (iusques a, iuqa) NPH, (*Om.* X). 323 Sire dit il vostre merci H, (*Om.* X). 324 dist il N, Si mait deus gui ne menti H, dit Hughe ieo vous mercy X. 325 forment H, bon C, (*Om.* X). 326 Mes Sachez qe ieo ne fu pas ubli X. 327 demandasse HCX. 328 Si nul C, Quant . . . nul X. 329 Qil meidast X. 330 ci P, nul X. 331 biaus (beau) PX, ben C. 332 bien H, Et par ceo a vous me comenceray X. 333 demander CX. 334 Adont (Adonc) a ris NPH, jeta (jetout) un CX. 335 semblaunce C. 336 Huhe . . . tres X. 337 E ieo C, Jeo ne voyl qa moy fayllez X. 336 cinquante NP, Mile besaunz en averez X. 339 ieo C, Et a ceo vous fray une bele premie X. 340 Adonques H, Lors est en son estaunt dreces C, De ceste bele compaignie X. 341 ore C, Qar il ny a nul qe passera X. 342 as autres barons N. 343 Jeo men iray X. 344 dist NP, dit HX. 345 Por chevalier H, haut C, bon X. 346 Lors commencierent P, comenceront C, comencerent X, 347 amiraus D. 348 tute X. 349 Les remenaunz C, (*Om.* X). 350 Libres de D, .xiij. mile N, vint mile C, (*Om.* X). 351 offert NH, (*Om.* X). 352 Lors C, Puys X. 353 (*Om.* C), en son pays X. 354 Encor H, (*Om.* CX). 355 (*Om.* CX). 356 aijes N, (*Om.* CX). 357 con a PNH, (*Om.* CX). 358 (*Om.* HCX). 361 apele son H, (*Om.* CX). 362 Les besanz et les H, (*Om.* CX). 364 Lors H, (*Om.* CX). 365 conte NPH (*Om.* CX). 366 Il . . . vousist P, Il est pris ou vosset H, (*Om.* CX). 370 (*Om.* CX). 371 de H, (*Om.* CX). 372 Quant chou (ce) NP, (*Om.* CX). 376 Si grant ire NPH, (*Om.* CX). 377 (*Om.* HCX). 378 tant que H, (*Om.* CX). 379 (*Om.* CX). 380 commande NPH, (*Om.* CX). 381 (*Om.* CX). 382 retorner H, (*Om.* CX). 383 puis NP, li rois lo fai seiorner H, ly roy lad fest C, li roy la fet X. 384 demorer H, pour son corps recreer X. 385 En N, ioie (joye) PCX, (*Om.* H). 386 Puis NPCX, (*Om.* H). 387 (*Om.* H). 388 delivree C. 389. L. sunt qui bonement H, Compaignye a volunte X. 390 Le conduient segurement H, 391 Ses D, Le P, Par mi la terre paiegnie H. 392 mal aver u X. 393 Et quant cele bele route X, (*Om.* H). 394 Lors sest P, En son pays sanz nule doute X. 395 Ki revinrent D, Ly bon prynce mene aveient X, (*Extra line* X: A lour seignour retoureyent). 396 pluisour N. 397 tout ensement NP, Si sen va droit en sa contreie H, Sauf reuynt en sa countree X. (*Extra lines* N: Que il couvent la demorer, Et il nen ose plus parler. P: Qu'il covint la demorer, Mes il ne le pot amender. C: Ke remis sont en la prisoun, En grant cheitiveusoun, Entre les meyns as sarazyns, Ke ne sont mye lour amys). 399 courchies N, corouciez P. 401 avoir NP. 402 le grant avoir NP. 406 entendus

C. 409 nesD, berbis (berbyz), NC. 412 metroit P. 415 emportereyent C. 416 Tout ainsi ly C, (*Extra lines* NPC: Qui chest conte leur conteroit, Tout ansi defoules seroit, Et vieus tenus par leur entendre, Mais sil i voloient aprendre (ke bien voudreit C) NPC. 417 porra C. 425 deffent D. 426 est toute no N. 427 Contre N. 429 nes . . mout par NP. 430 On nous NP. 432 seroit NP. 433 en pensse P. 434 font P. 435 congioent N. 436 li bon NP, les bons C. (*Extra lines* NP: Se che nert (nestoit) fors des (.) sarrasins, Daubeiois (Daubigois) et des (de) barbarins, Dautre gent (Et de genz) de mauvaise (mauvese) loi, Qui (Qi) nous metroient a besloi (belloi). 437 doutent P, 438 il C. 441 Son les voit aler et NC, De si loing con les voit P. 442 hom deist mout hayr C. 448 veut N, doit (deit) PC. 450 sacrament D. 451 Ke fache honte au roi poissant D, Par icel digne C. 452 quoi (qoi) NP, Duerom noustre touz sauvement C. 453 nul hom le vout C. 455 Encore un peu N, Foi que doi a dieu qi tout puet P. 456 Encore. i. poi dire mestuet P. 457 quist P. 459 Sil N. 460 hardiement NP. 462 porroit NP. 465 Qe faites N, De fere P. 466 outreement P. 468 chaus ki font N, cels qi font P. 469 Du cors diu je vous di N. 470 Par . . . le NP. 471 conte NP. 472 Qui mout (mlt) fu sages et NP. 473 Q' salhadins tant hounera N, Salahadins mlt lonora P. 474 Pour chou (Por ce) qe preudom le trouva (trova) NP. 475 Et si le fist mout (mlt) hounourer (honorer) NP. 476 Pour chou (Por ce) se fait (fet) il bon pener NP. 470 Et si N, Nous trouvons . . . el P. 481 a dieu finement P. 482 ou firmament N, Celui qi fist le firmament P. 484 bien P. 485 la joie NP. 486 aus onques P. EXPLICIT LI ORDRES DE CHEVALERIE NP. EXPLICIT X.

X *has the following independent conclusion*:

Core est huhe revenuz
Come bon chyvaler hardy et pruz
De la tere defaee
En quele tant avant ert nome.
Cortoys et chyvalerous.
Kal roy devynt tregracyous.
Issi qe chevaler le fist
Et sa gent de hors pryson prist.
Sa ransoun tot pleynement rendit
Et de leokes quytes sen partist
Ordre de chivalers descrist
Et en ceo le proces finist,
Nostre sire JHI crist
Face qe chevalers solonk son dit
Seient de vie si tę trespfit
Qe rien ne facent for lour profit,
AmeN. Et jeo les doyn respit
Tant kil veient cest escrit.
Qar ces povere et petit
Le romans de novel vestit.
EXPLICIT.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

Title.—*Ordene* is the older and better spelling. See H. Berger, *Die Lehnwoerter in der frz, Sprache aelterer Zeit.*

l. 1. *parler a=talk to.* Barbazan-Méon are responsible for Morris's mistaken translation, "That the wise speak is goodly gain." See *Perceval*, 543: "Biax filz as prodomes parlez." See also *Proverbs* XIII, 20.

l. 3. *sens . . . courtoisie.*—Influence of the *roman courtois*, or at least of Chrétien.

l. 5. *lor.*—But none of the Mss. have *preudomme*, l. 1, in the plural.

l. 15. *amoier* and *atorner* are synonyms.

l. 20. *Salehadins.*—Gaston Paris, *Un Poème latin contemporain sur Saladin*, in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, I, 433 ff., finds that the French form of Salah-Eddin's name long remained a quadrisyllable as here, and that the contracted form seems to have appeared first in Italy.

l. 24. *orgueil* and *outrage* are synonyms. *orgueil* is here not a state of mind, but an action. It seems different in ll. 168 f.

l. 26. The skirmish in which Hugues and other prominent Christian leaders were captured took place on the banks of the river Lita, near the castle of Belfort, the principal stronghold of the signorie of Sagette, not far south of Beyrout. The castle still stands, and today bears the name of Schekif-Arnoun.

l. 38. *en son latin,—lati* in Provençal was often a general word meaning *language.* Sainte-Palaye's Dictionary has: "Langue propre à un pays." Burguy has; "langue étrangère." A *latinier* was an interpreter. In l. 140, Hugues answers *en son latin.* As a matter of historical fact, a Syrian Frank like Hugues would have spoken Arabic with perfect fluency, so that Saladin's language would have been the natural medium of communication, unless perhaps the two resorted to the *lingua franca* in common use between Christians and Mohammedans. Omfroy de Toron, in 1192, served as interpreter for King Richard.

l. 46. *le giu parti.*—See *Saisnes* XXIV (Littré), where the phrase=*given me the alternative.* The idiom is more commonly *faire un jeu parti. Parti* here, as frequently in Old French=*partager.* (Latin, *iocus partitus*; English, *jeopardy*).

l. 50. *Cent mile besans.*—The ransom of St. Louis was 1,000,000 besants, according to Joinville. Baldwin of Ramla, captured with Hugues, paid a sum of 150 Tyrian gold pieces, and set free a thousand Saracen prisoners. Odo, Master of the Templars, refused to furnish ransom and died in captivity.

l. 71. *creangié.*—First singular present of *creanter+gié.*

l. 75. *cambre.*—Joinville speaks of a luxurious tent belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, with various compartments, "la salle au soudanc" and "la chambre le soudanc." William of Tyre tells of a Saracen tent which was "fête en la forme d'une cité."

ll. 83 and 98. *faire*, used intransitively without modifier of manner.

l. 85.—The *Siete Partidas* (*Partida* II, *Título* XXI, *Ley* I) have the following interesting explanation of the term " . . . en España llaman caballería no por razon que andan cavalgando en caballos, mas porque bien así como los que andan á caballo van mas honradamente que en otra bestia, otrosí los que son escogidos para caballeros son mas honrados que todos los otros defensores."

l. 92. *qu'=afin qu'*.

l. 96.—*s'y amordre=s'y appliquer*.

l. 98.—*seres*, copula without expressed predicate. The acceptance of *feres*, the reading of D, depends on whether *faire* could replace a passive verb, in this case *seroie blasmés* of l. 97.

l. 105. *dangier=résistance*.

l. 106. *est à chou senefiés*, periphrasis for *senefie chou*. The perfect passive participle has active meaning. See Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 146 ff.: Diez, *Grammatik*, III, 264.

ll. 117-8. Before the fifteenth century, the ceremony of christening involved plunging the child into the water of a *cuve* which was let into the floor. He was drawn out by the *parrain*. By the fifteenth century, sprinkling began to replace immersion. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Mobiliaire*, I, 320 f.

l. 125. *se* is understood from l. 123.

l. 134.—the use of *amis* to designate the Lord's faithful followers was not peculiar to the French. Its equivalent occurs in Lull's *Orde*, and in Caxton's English translation of the *Orde*. But *amicus* in the feudal organization,—and this is probably the connotation here,—meant, not *friend*, but *vassal*.

l. 147. *robe vermelle*.—The poem does not say that this robe was silk, although several of the later versions of the story say so. Saladin, as a good Mohammedan, could not have worn silk, which was forbidden to males of his faith; nor could he have worn gold spurs.

l. 163. Batty, *Spirit and Influence of Chivalry*, p. 30, speaks of a black doublet as worn by the knight, with the same symbolic meaning.

l. 165. *Genesis* III, 19.

l. 174. *en son estant*.—Even when in bed he was not lying flat, for the Mediaeval bed sloped considerably from head to foot.

l. 184. *se forbir* apparently=*cheat himself*. See *Dictionnaire général*, s.v. *fourbe* 1.

l. 193 *voist* —But l. 314 has the later subjunctive form *aille*.

l. 206. *Eph.* VI, 13 ff.

l. 207. *inimicus=the Devil*.

l. 209. *Deus trenchans*.—At this time the sword was used only for striking, and was regularly two-edged. By the second half of the thirteenth century, swords for thrusting were also in use.

l. 234. *melite<Malte=Schlaraffenland*. Ste. Palaye s.v.; Foerster, in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XX, 1898, p. 529; and Jenkins, *Romania*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 83.

l. 235 f. *I Cor.* II, 9.

l. 242. Is *l'* the object of *faire*, or does it simply repeat *faire*? In ll. 82 and 98 we had *faire* used intransitively.

l. 243. Schulz, *Fragesatz*, p. 197, and Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, 68, explains this word-order for questions as originating in an exclamation or an indirect question.

l. 246. Another reason frequently given for the blow was that it symbolized the last outrage to which the knight would ever submit.

l. 247. *ordené=consacré*. The word has a primarily religious connotation. Compare English *ordination*.

l. 260. Verbal repetition of l. 146.

l. 302. *amiraus* < Arabic *amir* (*prince*) with Romance ending. Diez, *Leben und Werke*, finds the modern meaning "commander of the fleet" appearing as early as the first half of the twelfth century, among the Sicilians.

l. 304. The *caiere* on which the Sultan sits is distinguished from the *seoir* of l. 307, on which a subject might sit. The *seoir* was probably one of the *deewans* or low seats about the walls of a Mohammedan audience-room (E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 135). Hugues, however, took his seat at first (l. 305) on the floor. There is nothing unhistorical either in the Saracen's occupying a chair or in the Frank's sitting on the ground. Abu-el-Heyja, "the Fat," who had difficulty in walking and standing, was once furnished a chair in the tent of the Sultan Saladin (Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, p. 340). On the other hand, chairs were not in general use in the West at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and were largely restricted to official meetings (Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben im 12. Jahrhundert*, 142). Chairs were very elaborate and elegant in the Middle Ages, those in the East even more so than in the Occident.

l. 318. *palefroi*, since the trip was a peaceful one. A *palefroi* for peaceful journeys was a part of the knight's regular equipment (Bangert, *Die Tiere im afrz. Epos*, 11). It is said that white animals were preferred for battle and black ones for the use of ladies and in peace. This distinction would have been a means of learning from a distance whether or not an approaching knight cherished a hostile purpose.

l. 319. *gambe*.—the reading *hiaume* of Ms. N is interesting, in view of the fact that the helm was so carried on peaceful trips because of its uncomfortable weight and as a further sign of pacific intention, just as the unbinding of his helmet by a leader during a battle was a signal to stop fighting; but it has no support from the other Mss. *gambe*, which the others have, is quite as plausible in itself, inasmuch as, in mediaeval Germany at least, crossed legs were a symbol of peace. (Dieffenbacher, *Deutsches Leben*, p. 50). (There is undoubtedly a relation with the Cross of Christ, and with the modern child's game of cross-tag).

l. 319 *en contenanche*. Sainte-Palaye (s.v.) says that *mettre en contenanche* means here *affermir, assurer*. See *Lancelot* 2584 ff., where a knight throws his leg over the neck of his horse *par contenance et par cointise*. The phrase *par contenance* appears again in *Lancelot* 1667. Foerster translates; "um sich Haltung su geben."

l. 330. *ni* for *ne*. The conjunction *ne* frequently assumed this form, it has been suggested because of the frequency of *n'il* (Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, 10, 4b), and the adverb might have assumed it by analogy. The two Picard Mss. have this form, the others have *ne*.

ll. 372 ff. is perplexing, but there is ample Ms. authority for it.

l. 387. *deffaée* is used here more as a geographical designation than as a term of opprobium. Compare *paienie*, l. 17, etc.

l. 402. *l'or et l'argent*. But the money was paid him in gold only (l. 359). There were besants of both metals.

ll. 406 ff. The form of the jongleur's appeal to his audience.

ll. 411 f. *Matt.* VII, 6.

l. 440. In *Perceval*, l. 6,423, the knight is instructed to rise at the appearance of a priest.

l. 456. "Fais ce que tu dois, adviegne que pourra." From the 15th century volume entitled *Proverbes Communs*, quoted Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes français*.

l. 472. *servir* is transitive in this line, intransitive in l. 475.

l. 481. A favorite style of punning conclusion. See the Condés.

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